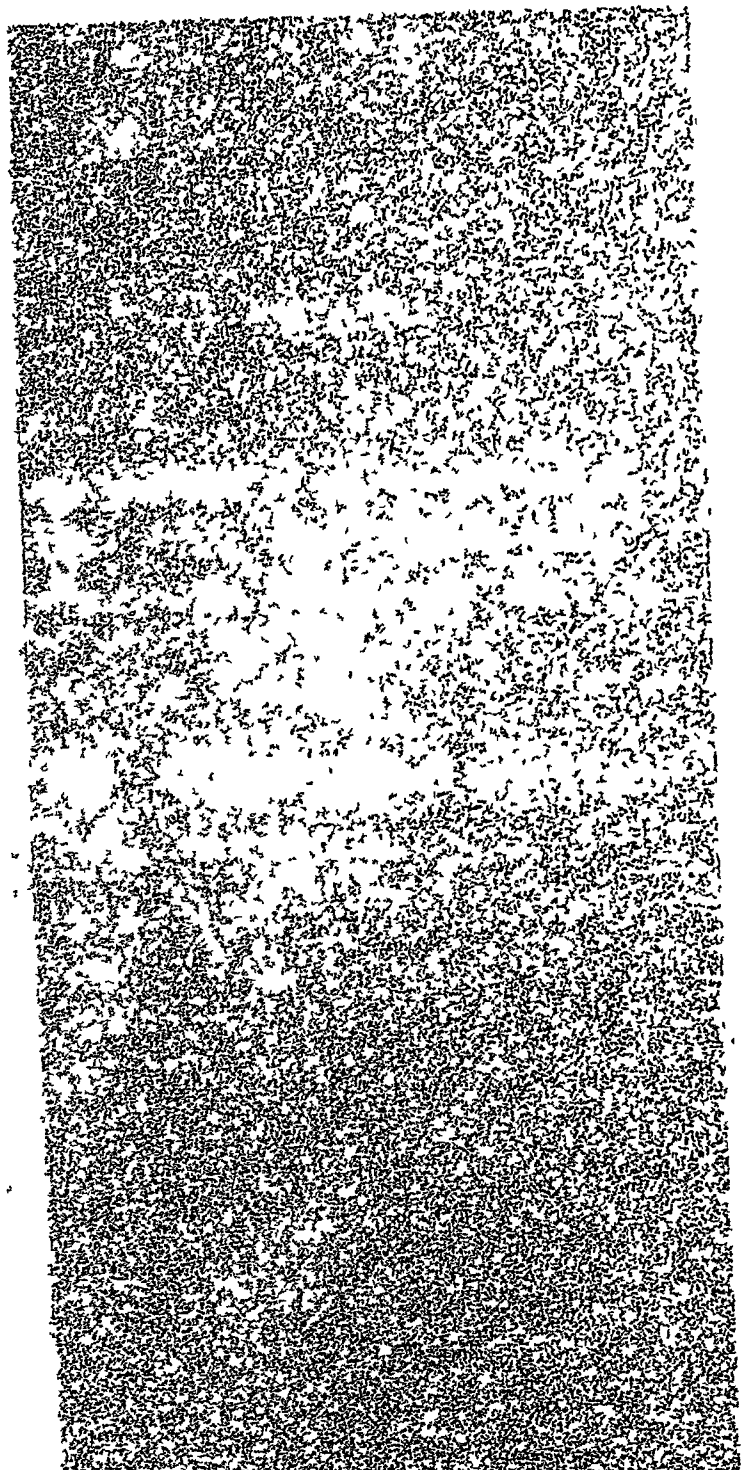
Prakāśitaṁ janānāṁ yair mataṁ servanayāśritaṁ
chitte pariṇataṁ chedaṁ yeṣaṁ tebhyo namonamaḥ

Salutations to those who have brought to light, for the people, this doctrine supported by all the Systems of Philosophy, and in whose heart, it has found a permanent place.

1. [Si]ddhaṃ saṃ 54 himantmāse caturthe 4 divase 10 a
2. sya pūrvvāyāṃ koṭṭiyāto [ga]ṇāto sthāni[y]āto kulāto
3. Vairāto śākhāto Śreegrh[ā]to saṃbhogāto vācakasyāryya



4. [Ha]stahastisya śisyo gaṇisya Āryya Māghahastisya Śrādhdhā-
cāro vācakasya a
4. rya Devasya nirvarttane Govasya Sihaputrasya lohikakārukasya
dānaṃ
6. sarvva satvānāṃ hitasukhā eka Sarasvatī pratīsṭhāpitā avatale
raṅgānarttano
7. me.........

(for the translation, please refer to the description of picture given after the preface.)

ANCIENT INDIA

History of Ancient India for 1000 years in four volumes

[*From 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.*]

Volume I

A marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories, substantiated with facts and figures from coins, inscriptions and authoritative writers

By

TRIBHUVANDAS L. SHAH
L. M. & S.

SHASHIKANT & CO.
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FOREWORD

Dr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah did me the honour of a request that I might contribute a foreword to his work on the History of India down to about A. D. 100. The period chosen covers the whole of the really formative period of the history of Ancient India, on which, as yet, a generally acceptable work of any compass can not be said to have been produced, notwithstanding the fact that the Cambridge History of India, volume I, covers more or less the same period actually. Notwithstanding this, it would be readily admitted that a comprehensive work on the period would certainly be quite welcome from many points of view. It is a laudable ambition to make an effort to supply this want.

Dr. Shah's work, as he explains in his preface, is based upon information much of which had hitherto remained unexploited to the extent, that it should have been, for producing a really satisfactory work on the period. While such works as are available, give evidence of the use of Buddhist and Brahmanic sources of history more or less fully, the corresponding Jaina sources for the period have not been utilized to the extent that they might well have been, for the very simple reason that these works have not as yet become so easily accessible even to the earnest reader who might be quite willing to devote the time and labour to master his sources. Dr. Shah's work, primarily therefore, seems intended to remove this defect. As he mentions in his explanatory introduction, he has been engaged during the length of a whole generation collecting material from Jaina literature for the purpose of producing an Encyclopedia Jainica. The publication of a work of that magnitude has proved impossible for obvious reasons. He has attempted this general account of the History of India as an alternative, thus meeting a real need. He has

put into requisition much information that has so far remained unutilized for the reason explained above.

Without meaning any disrespect, or exhibiting any want of sympathy for this work, it might well be said that the work is more or less a Jaina version of Indian History relating to the prevalence of Jainism in India. The part that is now about to be published actually is the History of India really from the beginning of the life of Pārśvanāth, and bringing it down to the end of the Ist. century A. D. Having regard to the point of view of Dr. Shah, we must admit that he has done the difficult work which he has imposed upon himself with conscientious care and ability. Naturally a work like this, would show a leaning towards Jainism. So the work does. A History based on such Jaina sources of information naturally would bring in fuller information upon the period when Mahāvīra flourished, and the period immediately following during which the teachings of Mahāvīra were still actively propagated. While it exploits the Jaina sources more or less fully, it exhibits differences in certain parts naturally enough, not sufficiently critical of the sources used in the light of collateral sources of information. This would be but natural, though it should have been well that this had been avoided as it easily could have been.

Judging from the part that we have had the pleasure of looking through, we welcome the publication as providing a version of Ancient Indian History, which exhibits the course of that history, from one important point of view, which hitherto may be regarded as having been perhaps neglected. The work before us, removes to a great extent that defect, and, if it is not the work that sound historical criticism would want, it still serves the purpose of providing the material for making such a work possible. We wish the work all success, which is probably all, that the author expects from out of it.

28th. April 1938.
Mylapore, Madras S. (Sd.) **S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.**

ABBREVIATIONS

A. D.	*Anno Domini;* In the year of our Lord; Christian Era
B. C.	Before Christ : Before the Christian Era
B. M.	Before Mahavira
B. V.	Before Vikrama
C, W. T.	(Cent weight) Hundred weight; 112 lbs.
E. I. Ry.	East Indian Railway
F. N.	Foot note
Lbs.	Aviordupois pounds
L. S. D.	Sterling pound; Shilling and Pence (English Currency)
M. E.	Mahavira Era
P. pp.	Page; pages
Pt.	Part
R. E.	Rock–edict
V. S. / V. E.	Vikram Savant or Vikram Era
Vol.	Volume

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

1. Origin

Nearly a score and a half years before the present volume saw the light of the day, the author had decided upon the compilation of the Encyclopoedia Jainica. Twenty years of incessant research work with the help of an able staff, elapsed before necessary material was gathered for this voluminous task. To cope with the expenses of publishing these volumes, the Jain publishers Limited was incorporated and registered at this time; but this venture failed on account of certain untoward circumstancs.

By this time the author struck upon the idea of testing the vein of public opinion and inclination to the work of this type before hazarding upon the publication of these volumes. Favourable reception of his articles in certain monthly papers, encouraged him to a certain extent. Deep study made him inclined to think that the hitherto generally received theory of Ashok and Priyadarshin being the names of one and the same individual was wrongly based. Prof. Herman Jacobi's "Sacred Books of the East, XXII" in which was stated "Samprati the Fabulous Prince," incited him to further research; at the end of which he was convinced that Ashok and Priyadarshin were names of different individuals, both being emperors of Magadh. Another point on which the author had reason to differ from the general consensus of opinion was the belief that Sandrecotes, the Maurya emperor of Magadh in 327 B. C. when Alexander the Great invaded India, was none other than Chandragupta Maurya; the whole ancient chronology is based upon this by most antiquarians. My study and chronological calculations led me to the contention, that Sandrecotes was another name of Ashok, the grandson of Chandragupta. As contribution of articles containing theories, which were bound to startle most students of ancient history, out of their complacently accepted beliefs, would inevitably give rise to

countless criticisms and bickerings from these worthies, the author decided to put the fruits of his researches connectedly in a volume of history which would be indisputably supported by a properly arranged skeleton of chronology. Such was the origin of this book.

2. Advantages of reading history books

There are people, who will always question the utility of bothering their heads with the dry-as-dust chronological structures of various ancient dynasties. In answer to their doubts, the author has to state, that his purpose in writing this book is to give a lucid account of the social, political, relegious and economic conditions, that prevailed in those times, and thus create general interest in them, from which solutions to many baffling problems of the present generation can be easily deduced. Not only every nation's ancient history is one of the best guides to its attitude towards its latest problems, but it goes a long way towards relieving other nations of its difficulties as well. Mr. A. K. Majmudar in his "The Hindu History." (B. C. 3000 to 1000) states. "The Aryans have always been supreme in the world." Mr. Vincent Smith" states, "Indian suffers to-day in the estimation of the world, more through the world ignorance of the achievements of the heroes of the Indian history than through the absence or insignificance of such achievements." Another famous writer days, " The value and interest of history, depends largely on the degree in which the present is illuminated by the past." (Oxford History of India, Pref. XXIII). In short, the value of ancient Indian culture and civilization has been fully recognized by native as well as foreign writers, and the author is not unreasonably optimistic about the benefits that would accrue from a close perusal of his volumes. What can he do, except pitying those, who fail to recognize the value of such treasure-house of rich heritage ?

3. Importance of chronology

The last-quoted writer has also said, "A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology history is impossible." The author has treated this

statement as an aphorism strictly observed through out his book, because he has realised, that chronology is the only test of the truth of a particular event having occurred at a particular time. It helps us to decide the succession of events during a particular period, to fix up dates of persons who had been contemporaries of persons, whose dates are known and of events which might have happened in conjunction or connection with persons and events with fixed dates. The author requests the reader, who might be at times tored by these chronological details in the book, to understand their importance. These chronological calculations have shown the author, how the whole ancient history has been given a twisted form, by the single but monstrous blunder of considering Sandrecotes to be none else but Chandragupta.

This is only one of the many instances where the author has been able to detect discrepancies in the chronology of events with the help of his calculations.

4. Time-limit

The author was at first uncertain about the time-limit of his book; first he had thought it proper to stop at the beginning of the Christian Era; but the differences of opinion that exist among experts about the founder and the beginning of Śaka Era attracted his attention, as also the time of Kshatrapa Chastana the ruler of Avanti. The result was that the time limit was extended upto 78 A. D., and at some place upto 150 A. D.. On the whole, the time-limit can be said to be 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.

5. General remarks on the book

It is probable that readers may be inclined to find the following faults (may be many others) with the writer :—

(1) What the author had to say, could have been said more precisely and forcefully, had he avoided giving too many unnecessary details, quotations and stories.

(2) Ornate style should have been adopted in place of simple.

(3) Too much importance is given to Indian scriptures and Nature.

(4) Religious anecdotes have been unnecessarily and profusely introduced.

(5) Only bright side of his own religion is presented.

(6) Instances aud episodes from scriptures of his own religion have been given in support of the genuineness of various historical events.

(7) He has solely devoted himself to criticising destructively opinions of other experts and other religions.

(8) Buddhism has been given specially unfair treatment.

Only a writer can realize all the difficulties of his colleague. The following explanation is meant for those readers, who have little or no experience of writting books, because the author considers it expedient, to free the minds of his readers from prejudices, which would otherwise hamper the progress of true knowledge. He requests the readers to have patience enough, to go through his explanation.

6. The purpose of writing this book

Many books have been written both in English as well in Indian languages upon Ancient India. The aim of adding one more to this big list, is to fill up the following deficiencies generally found in them:—(1) No book contains a connected history of ancient India. (2) Many of them are nothing more than short notes on particular persons and problems, or summories and generalisations deduced from some ancient books. (3) Many of them are treatises on a particular section of the ancient periods.

7. Explanation of charge No. 1

The author is not aware of any single book of similar size comprising this very period. Hence the reader is likely to think that the book owes its size, not to solid matter but to unnecessary details and repetitions. In order to remove this erroneous notion, the author has to state, that novelty and startlingly new theories are writ large on every page of the book. These new theories require due statement, full evidence, statement of old and wrong theories and expositions of their hollowness, substantiated by a crowd of quotations from various ancient books, scriptures and inscriptions and acknowledged publications. These

things, evidently require details nothing more, than which is contained by the book. Several quite new theories, and several old theories explained and restated in a new light, comprise this book.

The following are some of the instances which will convince reader, that the size is quite in proportion to the material. (1) Hitherto, it is generally accepted by experts that Ashok and Priyadarshin are names of the same individual and that all the inscriptions in the name of Priyadarshin owe their existence to Ashok and are Buddhist incriptions, because Ashok was a Buddhist. The refutation of this theory has occupied no less than sixty pages. (2) The proper time and the genuineness of the Vikrama Era occupied fifty pages to be found out and established. (3) Hathigumpha inscriptions have reserved thirty-five pages for the proper explanation and translation of several of its lines, which have been hitherto wrongly construed, and for the comparison of several historical events with events mentioned in them. (4) About one hundred pages have been devoted to the dates, chronologies and other details about the Sakas, the Yonas, the Yavanas, the Pahlavas, the Scythians, the Bactrians, the Parthians and others. (5) Wholly new items like the following have occupied several pages.:—(a) Stupās, about 20 pages, (b) Monstrous idols, about 10 pages, (c) Kalki king, about 10 pages, (d) Chronology and necessary accounts of kings and dynasties that ruled over Andhra about 150 pages, (e) Numerous pages have been devoted to fixing up the chronologies and other details of the Nands, the Shishunags, and the kings of Koshal and of Vatsa. It is obvious, that when these new theories will boil down to hard facts in course of time, the future historian will require about only a small portion of the pages, occupied by them in this book, which is their birth-place and nursery, requiring all the meticulous care for bringing them up healthily and for saving and safe-guarding them from outside onslaughts.

The author admits that some advanced readers will find some of the explanations rather too long, but he draws their attention to the fact, that the book is meant for ordinary readers and laymen as well.

As to unnecessary details, one man's meat is another's poison. Some readers will find particular things quite unnecessary and the same are sure to be dubbed essential by others. Several historians have devoted from about sixty to seventy-five pages to the description of the arrangement by Alexander the Great, at the time of his invation of the Punjab, of sections of his army at strategic points on the battle field, while others have condemned the same, as not worthy of more than a couple of paragraphs. Similarly, some of the readers of this book may think, that the descriptions of Vaishali, an account of seven daughters of Chetak Chedi-desh and details about dynasties that ruled it, narration of various episodes in the lives of Shrenik and his son Abhayakumar and many other items have unnecesssrily filled up many pages of this book. The readers are requested to understand and have sympathy with the aims, with which these accounts are given. For instance, accounts of the daughters of Chetak, have helped to fix up dates of various kings and thus fill in many gaps, in the chronological structure of ancient India. The dynasties that ruled over Chedi, find clear and connected statement for the first time in this book. Details about Shrenik and Abhayakumar show, how kings and ministers in ancient India worked sincerely and devotedly, for the welfare of their subjects, and what fact and farsightedness they showed, in dealing with many social, economic, political and religious problems of those days. The author has bitterly realized the common custom, of hailing respectfully only trash from an established and well-known writer, and of condemning and fault-finding with the work of a new author, though he may have served his readers with matter worth its weight in gold. The author requests his readers to go through the book with an unbiased mind.

Stories, legends and quotations-large and small—have been introduced at times, in order to explain more clearly, a particular event and to supply evidence for theories. The readers will notice, that such stories, legends and quotations, have been accommodated in the foot-notes and not in the matter of the book; and so those readers, who are not interested in them, may omit to go

through them while reading the book. Many people mistakenly think, that a history book should contain nothing more than matter-of-fact account of kings, dates of their births and deaths, and the battles they have won and lost. Hence another motive of introducing these stories-please rest sure-is to make the book interesting; at the same time every one of these stories and quotations serves the purpose of supplying some evidence to the new theories.

8. Explanation of charge No. 2

The author has prefered simple style to the ornate, in order to make the book readable and clear for all types of readers. He does not believe in, ornate and profuse style being more appealing than simple and direct statement of things.

9. Charge No. 3

Nature and its unalterable laws and certain aphorisms from Hindu scriptures may not appeal to modern readers, educated on the western style The author requests such readers, to approach these things with a candid mind, and not to summarily condemn everything, that is old and antiquated, simply because it happens to be old and antiquated, without submitting it to the test of their reason.

10. Charges Nos. 4-5-6-7

Some readers may be annoyed at, what would seem to them to be, a preponderating amount of religious matter in the book especially of the author's own religion-with a view to propaganda. Now, no history book can even dream of having a chance of long life, unless it is built upon solid facts. The author is sure of his book having a long life to live, because he has sacrificed everything at the altar of truth.

To his mind, religion is not a collection and arrangement of certain rites and rituals to be rigorously abserved by its followers. He is in the least concerned with its outward manifestations, pomp and show. To him religion, as it is interpretted in its broader and purer sense, is the one great transformer of human soul, leading it to the path of truth, justice and kindness to others,

and acting as a guiding star to our duties towards ourselves and towards others. He feels it like a judge, who does not stick to the letter of law but who always tries to interpret the spirit behind it. Religion is ubiquitously present, in all the spheres of life and is, as has been already said, the most helpful and true guide, to all our riddles of life. Which of the readers will object to religion having predominence in my book, if by religion, I mean our director in all the branches of life?

At present, four religions command the following of most people in the world. They are :—Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. During the time with which this book is concerned, two of them—Christianity and Islam—did not exist; while Buddhism came into being, during the 6 th century B. C. i. e. nearly three centuries and a half, after the beginning of the time chosen for this book. At this stage, it is necessary to state that Jainism, which has very few followers at present, was the most prevalent religion in those times. Its origin is as old as, pephaps older than, Hinduism. Hence, during the period with which this book is concerned, two religions, namely, Jainism and Hinduism were pravalent, throughout all the thousand years; while, Buddhism came into being nearly 350 years after 900 B. C. Of these three, Jainism had the greatest number of followers, as it prohibited killing animals for sacrifices, a rite preached by Hinduism; Buddhism has most of its tenets quite similar to Jainism, which perhaps is its fountain head.

This book contains the accounts of sixteen independent kingdoms, during these thousand years. i. e. the time-limit of this book, can be said in a way, to be sixteen thousand years. The kings, who ruled these sixteen kingdoms throughout these thousand years, were all followers of Jainism, except the Shungs who ruled for nearly a century and a quarter and followed Hinduism, and Ashok the great Buddhist emperor who ruled for about forty years. No wonder, Jainism enjoys greatest prominence from cover to cover of this book, not because the author is a missionary of Jainism, but because Jainism was simply followed, throughout the length and breadth of India.

Some acute readers may still further argue that they have no objection to the predominance of Jainism in the book; but why should the author show its good points only and omit its bad ones? Why,—had Jainism nothing but goodness and wholesomeness in it, should it dwindle into insignificance as it is at present? For one thing, Jainism has declined, not through any short coming or undesirable element in it, but through the degradation of its preachers and followers. At the same time, the author invites all adverse criticisms on Jainism, from those who ardently desire to plunge themselves heart and soul in doing so, but requests them to substantiate their charges by solid pieces of evidence.

Wherever possible, the author has quoted undisputed authorities like inscriptions, coins and scriptural books in support of his theories, and has avoided lebelling anything as true, which is not backed by them.

In reference to coins, the author takes this opportunity to point out the blunder, of ascribing many of them to the Shaiva sect. At the time when these coins came into existence, this sect was conspicuous by its absence.

Though doctrines and principles remain unchanged, through all times and climes, yet the manner and extent of their observance is different, at all times and in all climes. For instance, the one unalterable law to be observed by all historians is strict adherence to truth and no quarters to falsehood. The author firmly asserts, that he has not budged an inch from this principle but what to him are solid facts, may be mere chimera to others. In fact, as every page of the book bristles up with novel theories, many readers may not improbably feel the book, to be something like a series of castles in the air. All the author has to say in connection with this is, that the truth or otherwise of his theories will be proved in course of time, as more researches are made, and as more material is dug out of the mines of antiquity. He is convinced that his theories will stand the severest test and scrutiny.

Many a time, the author had to perform the painful duty

of, not only differing from the conclusions and contentions of well-known writers, but of disproving them, in order to prove his own theories. He has not done this, in order to degrade or lower any of them, in the eyes of the public, but to destroy falsehood and establish truth in its place.

The author never cherished the intention of treating Jaina literature partially at the cost of others. Most of the books quoted in this book are Government records, or are from the pen of well-known European as well as Indian writers, who have nothing to do with partiality, towards any religion whatsoever. In reference to quotations from old books, written during the period with which this book is concerned, the author has to state that these books were either Buddhist, or Vedic or Jaina. Of these, most Buddhist books are almost all translated into modern languages and published. Several Vedic books have also found their way into print. Unfortunately for Jainism, Jaina monks and those in charge of Jaina libraries and collection of books, deliberately held back all these books from publicity. The result was obvious. Buddhist and Vedic books being well-known and read by most of the scholars, many events, inscriptions, and coins were ascribed to them, as all were totally ignorant of Jaina books, costly stuffed and left rotting in the pegion holes of dark halls. The whole ancient history of India was given a twisted form, simply because none knew anything, about the evidence contained by Jaina books. It has been the most constant endeavour of the author for nearly a couple of decades, to bring to light the evidence contained in this hidden treasure, and the result is that he has, to his honest belief, succeeded to a certain extent, in truly interpretting the relics of ancient India. Being almost a pioneer in the field, he has determined not to be deterred by adverse criticisms, and not to be thwarted in his aim of seeking truth—the whole truth, and nothing but truth—by the opposition, that is likely to be hurled at him, by those, whose conclusions may have been challenged. At the same time, he has taken care not to dub as authority, any trash of Jaina literature, but to quote from only such books which have earned the esteem of learned people. Why should any one object to truth being found out from Jaina books? Truth from whatever

source must be hailed by a true student of history. All historians have to give some credence to ancient legends, folklore and mythological books, and then try to further support them with authority of coins and inscriptions.

Most young men of to-day have somehow or other settled down to the belief that mythological books contain not an iota of truth, being full of imaginary stories, meant for the diversion of the young as well as the old. One reason of this belief is, that the style of these mythological writers fails to appeal to modern young men. The author requests them to look into these ancient books with a searching eye, and he promises them rich fruits from their investigations.

11. **Charge No. 8**

The gravest charge likely to be directed towards the author is, that he has given specially unfair treatment to Buddhism. If the author simply asserts that he had no such intention, none will believe him. The fact is, that most experts in the field of ancient history have ascribed most of the inscriptions, coins, and other relics of antiquity to Buddhism, while in reality they belong to Jainism. They have done so, due to two reasons:— (a) Buddhist books have acquired the greatest publicity; while, on the contrary, Jaina books have never seen the light of the day, due to the perverse mentality of those, who were in possession of them. (b) Jainism and Buddhism are very similar to each other, there being minute differences only, between their tenets; and hence the relic of one can be easily mistaken for that of the other, unless the writer is armed with full knowledge of both of them. Now, this was not possible as Jaina books were not published. Hence everything that could not be ascribed to Hinduism, was ascribed to Buddhism, it being the only other known formidable rival in the field. The author has already stated, that he has made a deep study of ancient Jaina books, which have shed a flood of new light on many intricate problems of antiquity, and which have convinced him, of its wide-spread prevalence in ancient India and also, of most of the inscriptions and coins belonging to it.

In support of his contentions, the author takes this opportunity to quote the following well-known writers. It is stated on page 702–3 of "The Hindu History," "No Buddhist period in ancient history. Some scholars have made much of Buddhism in India. They think that at one time (say from B. C. 242 to 500 A. D.) Buddhism had eclipsed Hinduism; that a great majority of the people had embraced Buddhism, and that almost everything was Buddhistic in style etc. It does not appear that there is much truth in it. Buddhism was no doubt prevalent in East India. In other parts of India it was rather sporadic. The large province of Assam was entirely free of Buddhism. The provinces about Hardwar, Kanouj, Allahabad, Benares had little Buddhism. Carnal, Jaipur, Panchal etc. furnish no proof as to the prevalence of Buddhism there. Even in Magadha and Bengal, Hinduism flourished side by side with Buddhism. The monks were regular Buddhists, but the lay-men were mostly Buddhist-Hindus, i. e. men who followed some Buddhist doctrines on the Hindu bases, having castes, and Hindu manners; this is why they could be won to Hinduism easily. There are some native Christians in South India who still follow the caste system and some other ancestral Hindu manners etc. The Buddhist pilgrims of Ceylon and China of the fourth century A. D. did not notice Buddhism flourish in India. The Editor of the Historians' History of the World is right in observing, that owing to its abstractness and rivalry of the Hindus, Buddhism was a failure in India; in modified form, it has, however, prevailed in other parts of India." On page 55 of "The Oxford History of India," it is stated:—"It may well be doubted, if Buddhism can be correctly described, as having been the prevailing religion in India, as a whole at any time. The phrase "Buddhist Period" to be found in many books, is false and misleading. Neither a Buddhist nor a Jaina period existed. Neither heresy ever superseded Brahmanical Hinduism. Mahavira, as has been mentioned, had about 14000 disciples when he died; a mere drop in the ocean of India's millions."

Most Indian kings during the time-limit of this book were Jains. They governed their subjects according to its tenets, and

thus the people were very prosperous and happy, during those times. At present, most people are prejudiced against Jainism and thoughtlessly condemn it as a religion conductive to cowardice, on account of its doctrine of non-violence, the sense and spirit of which is understood by few. Even at present, Jainism does not recognise any difference between castes, communities or colours. Its aim is universal brotherhood and it recognises and preaches equality, not only among men and men, but among all the animate beings of the world. Its true follower possesses a soul magnanimous enough to forgive any outrage, not on account of weakness and powerlessness to oppose, but with a view, to bringing about the regeneration of the opposite party, by appealing to it through his own sufferings. The author is a staunch adherent of Jainism in the sense explained above.

Special remarks about the book

The author has divided these remarks into two parts:—(A) those pertaining to that portion of the book, which does not consist of the matter proper, and (B) those pertaining to the matter. He has taken particular care to facilitate the reader's way in the perusal of the book.

(A) In the first place, the book is not divided into sections and chapters with a view to chronology, but with a view to preserve the continuity of description and narration. A particular dynasty is treated in a particular chapter and so on. At the beginning of every chapter, a synopsis of the contents is given, and every paragraph has a heading, suggestive of the matter contained in it. A detailed index is given at the end of the book, so that the reader can make, without much trouble and inconvenience, an exhaustive study of any particular problem, event or person in the book.

Every chapter is headed by a picture containing all the main items described in the chapter. The book is divided into volumes and volumes are divided into parts. On the reverse side of every page denoting a new part, a summary of the contents of the part is given.

The author here draws reader's attention to two pictures; one on the outer cover of the book, and the other on the first page on art paper inside the cover. The former is a reprint of the oldest found-picture of Kalpa-Vriksha, and the latter is the oldest picture of Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning. Instead of making the picture of Sarasvati bi-coloured or tri-coloured—the general and popular style—the author has got it printed in gold-coloured ink.

The book contains a number of maps. All of them are original. The author however thanks those, from whose books and publications he has borrowed models, or taken some hints, with which he has prepared his own maps. Maps are given three or four at the same place, in order to save the trouble of the readers. Facsimiles of kings, ruling over particular territories at particular times, have been, wherever possible, introduced. In the case of foreign kings, only those have been admitted, who became domiciled Indians after their invasions. He has given no place to imaginary likenesses of any kings.

The author considers bibliography, in the light of rather an over-estimation of a writer's extent of knowledge. He has satisfied himself with enumerating those books, from which he has actually quoted passages or to which references are made in the book.

(B) Four hundred pictures, outlines and reprints of maps, facsimiles of kings and coins, and other things are introduced in the book. A word about maps is necessary here. Their short description is as under:—(1) The map showing India divided into twenty-five and a half countries. (2) The map showing India divided into eighty kingdoms in the seventh century. (3-4-5) The region about Vidisha, the capital of Avanti, about which are situated many stupas, and (6 to 15) Maps showing the territorial extents of various kings.

The following items deserve special notice from readers:—
(1) Relation between Nature's laws and activities of men.(1st chap.). (2) A general description of the conditions prevailing during the 6th century B. C. (2nd chap.) (3) Maps and accounts of the eighty kingdoms existing in India during the 6th century B. C.

(3rd chap.) (4) Full details about the kings and dynasties, with chronologies, which ruled sixteen major kingdoms that existed in India during the time-limit of the book. (chapters 4 to 7 of the First Part, and all the six chapters of the Second Part). (5) Chronologies of all dynasties are given at the end of the book for easy reference.

Sometimes, two separate dates are assigned to the same event in different parts of the books. For instance, the dates of the destruction of Champanagari has been stated to be 524 and 525 B. C. on different pages. The date of the marriage of the daughter of Udayan of Vasta with Nand I, has been stated to have been 480 and 484 B. C. respectively. These differences are due to the difficulties that one has to undergo while calculating Christian year for a year of any Indian era. Secondly, months of the Hindu calender ended on the full-moon day in those times. The author however appeals to the sympathy of the readers, for these short-comings.

The author sincerely thanks those persons who have been helpful to him in one way or the other. He specially thanks Prof K. H. Kamdar M A; Professor of history at the Baroda College for going through the vernacular manuscript of the book, and also the following:—

(1) Diwan Bahadur K. S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger M. A. Ph. D. (Hon.), retired University Professor, Madras; and Joint Editor of the well-known periodical the Indian Antiquity, who has very kindly written out the forward to this volume.

(2) The authors, institutions and governments, whose publications have been consulted, cited and quoted.

(3) The translator Mr. R. J. Desai M. A., into English from the original work in vernacular.

(4) Mr. R. K. Kavi M. A., who has kindly prepared the Index

(5) And last but not the least, those persons whose names have not been mentioned in the above owing to lack of memory, but anyhow have lent their quota and who have helped him in bringing out this volume to light.

Tribhuvandas L. Shah

Pictures in the Book

In the following description the first line of numbers shows the serial numbers of the pictures themselves, and the second line indicates the page in the book on which they are given.

Cover—The picture represents Kalpa-druma, Kalpataru or Kalpa-Vṛkṣa. Most of us have heard about, and dreamt of this alluring and all-giving tree, and yet few have any idea about its size or shape or any other details. This picture has been printed from a plate which is two-thousand years old. (Place from where obtained :—A. S. R. I. 1873-74 Bundelkhand, Mālvā).

Title page—The Goddess of Learning (Sarasvatī), popularly seen in pictures every where with a peacock or a swan as her vehicle. The picture given here is two-thousand years old. Only the trunk was found; the upper part has been added to it after thorough study of the pictures of Gods and Goddesses of those times. Had there been no caption at its foot, it would have remained unintelligible. The caption is translated as follows:—" Success in the year 54 (?) in the fourth month of winter, on the tenth day, on the lunar day (specified) as above, one (statue of) Sarasvatī, the gift of Smith Govā, son of Siha (made) at the instance of the preacher (Vāchak) Āryya-Deva, the Śrāddhāchāro of the Gaṇi Āryya Meghhasti, the pupil of the preacher Āryya Hasta-Hastin, from the Kottiyagaṇa, the Sthāniya Kula, the Vaira Śākhā, and the Śri-gṛha Saṁbhoga...

[Notes—Looking to the place from which it is found, it is concluded to have been erected during the Kushan rule. The mode of expressing the time of the donation also supports our conclusion (for this, vide Vol. IV). If so, the figure 54 denotes the Kushan Era, and it will be about the 14th year af Kanishka II's reign i. e. A. D. 157].

(A) Some details about pictures

Picture No.	*Page No.*	
1	1	Ancient India (Details further on, in the list of Decorative Pictures) on pp. 33.
2	11	At the beginning of Chap. II desc. on pp. 33.
3	43	At the beginning of Chap. III desc. on pp. 33.
4	44	Map No. I. (See the details about maps on pp. 30)
5	53	Map No. II. (See the details about maps on pp. 30)
6	67	At the beginning of Chap. IV. (List of Decorative Pictures) on pp. 33.
7	73	Prasenjit of Kośal is seen expressing his devotion and delight at the place where Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage. He has gone there on a pilgrimage and is shown to be driving the chariot himself in a chariot-procession. (Bh. Plate XIII).
8	75	In celebration of the event stated in. No. 7 above, Prasenjit has got a pillar erected. A part of it is shown here, (Bh. Plate XIII).
9	75	A part of the Pillar erected by king Ajātśatru when he visited the place on a pilgrimage. (Bh. Plate XVI)
10	79	Portrait-head of king Prasenjit of Kośal. (Bh. Plate No. XIII).
11	98	King Āmbhi-(Saṃbhuti) clad in the military uniform of foreigners; once an independent king of a part of Gāndhār, he proved a traitor to his country by being a accomplice of Alexander the Great who, when the battle was over, disgraced him cruely but deservedly. (C. I. B. Plate III).
12	98	Alexander the Great (O. H. I.).
13	99	Selukas Nekator, the chief general of Alexander, and the founder of Selusid dynasty in Syria. He had given his daughter in marriage to Aśoka in

Picture No.	*Page No.*	
		304 B. C. and had sent Magasthenes as his representative at the Court of Pāṭliputra. (C. H. I.)
14	100	Aśoka (Bh. Plate XXX)
15	100	Demetrius, the Bactrian emperor, the first foreign invader to settle in India. (C. H. I).
16	101	Part I, Chap. I (Decorative Pictures) on pp. 33.
17	103	(Country of Kośāmbī) Lion Capital Pillar of Sārnāth (see description in no. 26 picture); unique example of symmetrical sculpture in the world. Centre of a Buddhist University at present (Near Allhabad), as the pillar is believed to be connected with Buddhism. But the signs of Horse, Elephant, Lion, Bull, Dharma Chakra and others prove that it was connected with Jainism. If so proved, it will open a new highroad in ancient history. The height of the sculptured part is 6 ft 10½ in. Total height of the pillar being 62 ft. (Details in the account of Priyadarśin).
18	119	Nandangaḍh Stūpa; believed to be connected with Buddhism, and has been erected by Aśoka. It is a creation of Priyadarśin, who is quite a different individual from Aśoka. Priyadarśin was a Jain, and to show his devotion to it, he has got a lion placed at the top of the pillar. The pillar is 39 ft. 7½ in. in height. (Details in the account of Priyadarśin).
19	146	Part I Chap. VI (Decorative Pictures).
20	149	An image of Pārśvanāth, found from the excavations of Bennāṭaṭ, the capital of Dhankaṭak, or Bennākaṭak. (Details in the account of Khārvel of Kaliṅg).
21	149	Another image found out from the same excavations showing the meditative posture of Jaina monks. (Details in the account of Khārvel).

Picture No.	Page No.	
		has not been found out. (Place from where obtained A. R. S. I. 1873-74 Bundelkhaṇḍ, Mālvā)
31		The same Kalpa-tree which is given on the cover.
32, 33, 34	189	No. 32 : The top-part of Sāñchī Stūpa, No. 33 a portion of the top-part of Bhārhut Stūpa; No. 34 a portion of the top-part of Mathurā Stūpa (much of it is in a broken condition); (See No. 35 also); These three pictures are placed side by side here, in order that the reader may compare them and see the similarity in design and model. All the scholars have agreed that the stupa No. 34 is connected with Jainism. They however, tell us that Nos. 32-33 belong to Buddhism, though all the three are quite similar in design and sculpture. Why this difference? Again, these two pillars can be definitely shown to have been connected with Jainism in many ways. (Details in the account of Priyadarsīn)
35		This picture represents a stone-tablet used for the purposes of performing religious ceremonies. It is called Āyāgapata, and has been found from the excavations of a hill named Kaṅkālitilā, near Mathurā. Its size is 2 ft. 3 in., and all the finery and minute sculpture on it, could not be shown in the picture. Its design, however, is quite similar to that of Nos. 32, 33 and 34. The inscription given on it can be interpretted as follows:—"Adoration to the Arhats, by Śivayaśā or wife of the dancer Faguyuśa, a tablet of homage (Āyāga-pata) was caused to be made for the worship of the Arhats" (M. A. Pl XII.)
36	225	Part II Beginning of Chap. I. (Decorative pictures)

(B) Details about maps

Picture No.	*Page No.*	*Map No.*	
5	53	2	Political map of India during 7th century A. D. (640 A. D.), when Hu-en-Tsāng visited India, which was then divided into eighty provinces. Political divisions of India at present are given in the map, and the numbers representing the eighty provinces are placed to show the location of these provinces.
55	181	3	Map of central India, designed for the purpose of showing the relations among Chedi, Kauśāmbī (Vasta) and Avanti. Important places of antiquarian interest like Bhārhut, Rupnāth, Bhilsā, Besnagar etc. are given there, in order to show their distances from Ujjainī.
28.	185	5	Map of the region about Bhilsā. Places where stupas are situated are specially indicated. The region of about 5 miles is crowned with stūpas like that of Śatadhār, Soneri, Sāñchī, Bhilsā, and Āndher etc. It is a hilly region.
27	112	4	Map of Vidiśa. Besnagar is indicated by a circle, and shows the place of the old city. The remaining part of the city was situated between the rivers Bes and Beṭvā. On the third side, three rivers flow to-gether, and hence the place is named Triveṇī-Saṅgam (Triple confluence) The fourth side only is open for communication, and that too, is well-protected with hills. In short, the city was placed in a spot of unique natural beauty. Places of historic interest are marked and the following is the explanation about them.

(A) and (G) From each of these places a gigantic statue of a woman has been unearthed. (B) The Kalpa-tree was found out, the picture of which is given on the cover as well as in No. 31, (C) No. 29, the Krauncha pillar. (D) No. 30, the Alligator pillar and other places are also marked; but we are not concerned with them here.

Picture No.	*Page No.*	*Map No.*	
45		6	Map of the 16 kingdoms into which India was divided in the 7th century B. C. The names of the kings ruling over every one of them are also given in the respective provinces.
46		7	Map of India divided into its modern provinces given for comparison with those in the map above.
47		8	Extent of the kingdom of Magadh at the end of the rule of Śreṇik or Bimbisār. The extents of other kingdoms are also given for comparison. It becomes obvious from the map that Southern India was quite uncivilized.
48		9	Extent of the kingdom of Magadh at the end of the reign of Kuṇik or Ajātśatru. Southren India was uncivilized even then.
49		10	Extent of the Magadha Empire at the end of the reign of Udyāśva, The map shows that Āryan civilization, had not only penetrated Southern India by this time, but also into Ceylon. All this region had come under the banner of Magadh. The Lichchhavi and Saṃvriji Kṣatriya clans and their off-shoots emigrated to South India at this time. First they acted as governors of Magadh. As time went on, they flouted the authority of Magadh, and became independent.

Picture No.	Page No.	Map No.	
50		11	Extent of the Magadha Empire at the end of the reign of Anuruddha and Mund.
51		12	Extent of the kingdom of Nand I. Except the Northern Punjab and Kāśmir, the whole of India was under his sway.
52		13	Extent of the Magadha Empire during the reign of Nand II.
53		14	Extent of the Magadha Empire during the rule of the six succeeding Nands.
54		15	Extent of the kingdom of Nand IX. Even the Northern Punjab and Kāśmir have come under his sway; but a large portion of Southern India has become the independent kingdom of Khārvel of Kaliṅg; while in the western portion of Southern India a new kingdom is rising forward (Āndhra) established by the rulers of Śātvāhana dynasty—an offshoot of the Nanda dynasty.

(C) Details about the decorative pictures given at the beginning of every chapter

Every picture given at the beginning of every chapter, is designed to present in brief the synopsis of the whole chapter. The art of painting is as old as humanity itself. Man learned to express himself in pictures, even before he learnt either to speak distinctly or to write. As music preceded poetry, so did painting preceded the art of writing. At present it has become universal.

Part I

Chapter I—Ancient India. In one corner the Dravidians and other uncivilized people are seen worshipping the idols. The Āryans are seen rushing from the west. The rule of the doctrine of non-violence prevails throughout India, as preached by Mahāvīr, the soul of India. Ships are seen indicating that sea-voyages were undertaken in Ancient India for trade purposes.

Chapter II—The thriving condition of Ancient India is depicted here. Damsels are seen standing on beautifully carved terraces and balconies, casting their glances at the warriors below, who are riding over elephants or horses or in chariots. Rows of trees are seen on both the sides of the roads.

Chapter III—A Chinese traveller is seen looking at India divided into two parts:-(1) Northern India, commanded by the snowy peaks of the Hymālayas and strewn with large and wide rivers on the banks of which the Āryans made their home; (2) the Southern India; hilly and inhabitted by uncivilized people.

Chapter IV—The scene of ruin, misery and anarchy prevaling in India at the time of the death of Buddha. Persian hordes are seen taking away the wealth of India through deep mountainous valleys; an Indian king (Vidurath) is seen solly occupied with killing his relatives, as if not caring for anything else.

Chapter V—Udayan of Vatsa is seen eloping with Vāsavdattā. Queen Padmāvatī is seen riding an elephant. Queen Mṛgāvatī rules a kingdom. The fair sex plays an important part in this chapter.

Chapter VI—This picture indicates that anarchy and misrule are at an end. Commerce, religion and other peaceful ways of life are making progress. Ships of Bennātaṭ are seen afar. On this side are seen people offering their homage to the palanquin of the god.

Chapter VII—The world is changing. Peace follows war and war follows peace. The cycle goes on for ever. The god of mischief invades the city of peace and plays havoc there. Udāyin of Sindh and his queen are absorbed in meditation, while Dhāriṇī is undergoing the pangs of the dilivery of a son.

Part II

Chapter I—Śreṇik-kumār is in exile. Passing through rivers, and forests and undergoing many troubles, he proceeds forwards making his mark wherever he goes. He assumes the title of the king on his return. His son Abhaykumār, taunted by his playmates, arrives at Rājgṛhī in search of his father, and shows his mettle by getting the ring out of the well.

Chapter II—Śreṇik never failed to learn a new thing from even the humblest person. Putting aside the pride natural to a king, he sits at the feet of his preceptor to gain knowledge. Kuṇik imprisons his father for getting his kingdom. His mother reminds him of the love and kindness of his father. Kuṇik repents and runs with a hatchet to break the irons that bound the feet of his father. One of the guilds, the creation of Śreṇik, is illustrated here.

Chapter III—King Ajātśatru is engaged in a battle. The elephant Sachenak falls into the pit of fire to save his master. The pillar, indicating the victory of Kuṇik is seen.

Chapter IV—New custom is illustrated here. Kṣatriya kings have begun to marry Śūdra girls. The kings in question belong to the Śiśunāga dynasty.

Chapter V—Nand IX was a powerful king, and had politicians like Chāṇakya at his court. Chāṇakya conducted a large school at that time. Pāṇini wrote his books at this time. All these are engaged in a political game. The king is whispered wrong things against certain persons. Śakḍāl incurs his own death in order to save his family. Factories for manufacturing arms for a rebellion are rumoured to be in full swing.

Chapter VI—The Āryans, who had hitherto not made the region beyond the Vindhyā ranges, the place of their residence, are seen going upto Ceylon. Prince Anūruddha conquers Ceylon. Uḍayāśva has started on a religious pilgrimage in order to expiate his sins. Nand IX, victim of political games, goes away leaving a prosperous kingdom.

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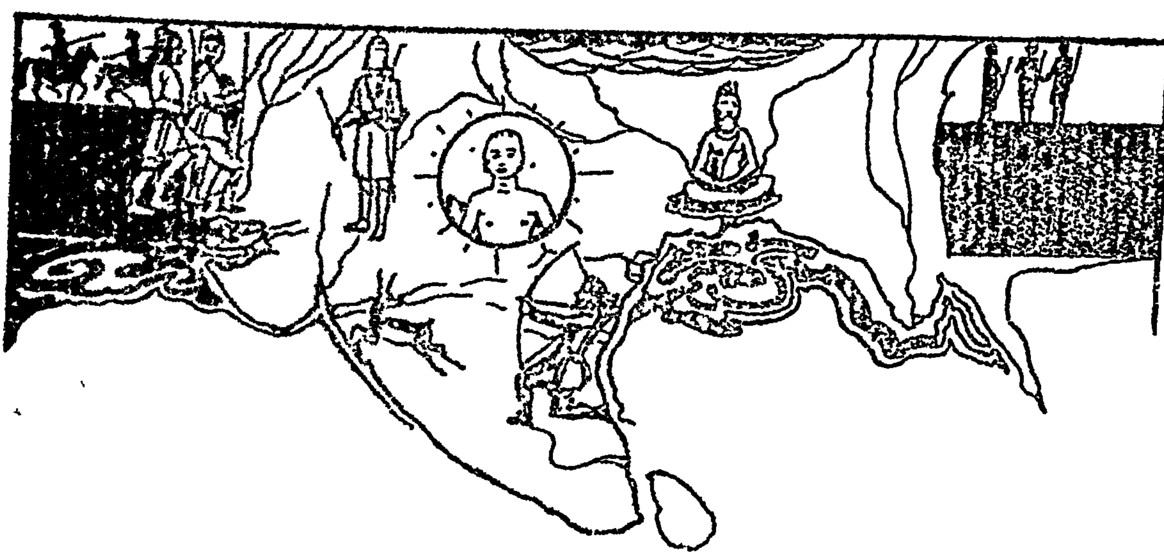
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Part 1

PART 1



Chapter I

Introductory

Synopsis—Time analysis—The Āryans and the Non-Āryans, and the difference between their civilizations—Natural affinities—Their influence on the country and the life of men-Definite reasons for the longevity of life—Activities during leisure-Study of S'ruti and Smṛti—Scientific researches—Periodical divisions with due consideration of different opinions. The relation between Nature and the appearance and disappearance of great men.

Majority of books, that have been hitherto published on Indian History, deal with the modern times. Rare are the books dealing with ancient times; rarer still are those that throw light on the dark cavities of the times before Christ. Many might be the reasons for such a state of things. The present writer can forward two reasons:—comparative absence of material, and the almost insurmountable difficulties in obtaining it. In spite of such handicaps, it is the humble intention of the author to explore the vast field of antiquity, to collect as much evidence as possible, and to make, with unsparing efforts, researches, upon which, he can build final conclusions. In order that the reader may have no difficulty in understanding the truth, and may not be led astray by misapprehensions, the writer has made an endeavour to present the facts, not in a discontinued manner, but in a proper chronological order, including the geneology of the kings that ruled in ancient India. Thus the reader, when presented with historical facts, will be amply enlightened about the purely historical, social, political, religious, economic, and all other conditions of India that was two thousand years ago. Many are the media through which, detailed knowledge about the above-mentioned conditions prevailing in modern India, can be obtained. The writer hopes that the reader, after making comparative study of both the ages, will, according to his own ability, find out the reasons for the changes-good or bad-that have evolved during so many centuries. He will have two pictures before his mind's eye; he will compare and contrast them; he will perceive many things worthy of being borrowed from the old picture that will make the modern-picture less ugly than it is at present; and thus he will chalk out the path for the upward march of modern India. Finally, the writer earnestly desires that this volume may help the reader in contributing his quota towards the regeneration of his mother-land and may make him concious of the position that he occupies in it.

Purpose

Most of the historians begin with fourth century B. C., because from that time onward, historical materials begin to assume a clearer and a more evidential form. The author considers it more to the point to trace the connection between the civilization

that prevailed among the Āryans of the olden times, and the civilization that is in full swing to-day. Hence, he thinks it proper to begin at the beginning—with the time when the most authoritative religious books like Śruti and Smṛti were composed, and when the Vedic religion, one of the chief religions of the Āryan people, came into existence,[1] in or about 8th or 9th century B. C. It took him long to decide where to end; whether at the beginning of the Vikrama Era—which is mostly used by the people of India (i. e. 57 B. C.); or at the beginning of the Christian Era, which is widely adopted by the modern educated Indians (i. e. 1 A. D.); or at the beginning of the Śaka Era, which is widely used in one part of India (78 A. D.). If the first option is selected, only unconnected remarks can be scattered over the 135 years that intervene between the first option and the third option (i. e. 57 B. C. to 78 A. D.). While the third option not only covers these years, but the writer gets the opportunity of stating his thoughts to other workers in the field of history, specially because these thoughts differ from many stereotyped beliefs that have hitherto been taken for granted, and also because these historians might be stimulated to throw new light on them; hence the decision to end at 78 A. D. In short, these volumes cover the period of one thousand years lying between 9th B. C. and 78 A. D. or even upto 100 A. D.

Time limit

As India contains one-fifth of the total population of the existing world, it would not be inappropriate to classify it as an independent continent. Geographers have taken it as a part of Asia because of the proportionate smallness of its area. In ancient times it constituted a part of a continent named Jambudwīpa. In spite of this, however, it is many a time, in descriptions, referred to as a continent, with its own specific name-Bharatakhand. On several occasions it is spoken of as Bharatavarṣa or Bhāratavarṣa, as that was the name of a great portion of it at one time.

Preliminaries

(1) The authoritative historical material is obtained from this time ownwards. Due to this reason, the line between historic and pre-historic periods should be drawn here.

This India—Bharatavarṣa—is divided into two parts by the great Vindhyāchala mountain that stretches from east to west, and that is situated almost in the middle of it. The northern division is known as North India; the southern division as South India.[2] The southern division is also known as South Indian Peninsula, as it is surrounded by sea on three sides. Similarly, even the whole of India can be described as a peninsula. Though these two divisions constitute one indivisible whole, they widely differ from each other from the view-point of their civilizations. The people inhabiting the northern division were known as Ārayans ar they were highly civilized; the people in the southern division, being comparatively uncivilized, were known as Non-Āryans.[3] As a matter of fact, the whole of India is commonly called Āryāvarta, and its people Āryans.[4]

The foreigners may then be given the name of Non-Āryans, their countries being called Non-Āryan countries.

The countries which are at present known as Baluchistān, Afghānistān, Asian Turkey, and Persiā, were in those times included in Āryāvarta; and the people inhabiting those countries were called Āryans. The region lying to the west of these countries belonged to what was formerly known as Śakadwīpa; and its people were called Non-Āryans.[5] But at the time when this history begins, Āryāvarta, as already explained above, included a vaster area than the modern India does within its boundaries; hence the people of that region even, were known as Āryans.[6]

(2) Some call it Dakshiṇāpatha. Looking to the etymological sense of the word, "Āpatha" means "way to" and "Dakshiṇa" means "South". Hence the word means "way to south (India)" and not "South India."

(3) This name can be given from the view-point of the different divisions of India; for further information, read f. n. 4.

(4) This appellation is used to distinguish the ancient Indian civilization from other civilizations. (Compare this with the use of words like Yavana and Yona).

(5) For further information about this continent refer to the later volumes.

(6) The reader will at once understand that the birth-places of the authors of Śrutis and Smṛtis were in Āryāvarta; more details are given later on, in the other volume.

The law of nature and its relation to Āryan civilization

The civilization of a people is inseparably united with the religious customs, rites and rituals, the social ties and fashions, the manner and habit of life, and many other things, prevailing at a particular time. All the religious factions that we see in India to-day, have begun only in modern times. In ancient times only four religions existed : the Vedic religion, Jainism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Even among these four, Buddhism came into being in the 6th century B. C., and Christianity in the 1st century B. C. At the time when this history begins (9th century B. C.) only Jainism and the Vedic religion existed.

According to Āryan scriptures, some eternal elements, which are generated by Nature, control the Universe. One of these elements is Time. Time is eternal and endless. In Vedās, which are the greatest book of the Āryan scriptures, Time is divided into four main parts; (1) Satyayuga—the Golden age, (2) Tretāyuga—the Silver age, (3) Dwāparayuga—the Copper age and (4) Kaliyuga—the Iron age. These ages come and go at regular intervals. The first age is the longest, the second less long than the first, the third still less than the second, and the fourth is the shortest of all. In Jainism the Time is characterised as eternal and endless, but is differently divided. First it is divided into two equal parts; the first part is known as Utsarpini,[7] and the second as Avasarpiṇi.[8] Each part is again divided into six divisions, and each division is known as an Ārā.[9] In the Utasarpiṇi part of Time, as the name itself indicates the meaning, everything, as time passes on, progresses, steadily first towards the higher and then towards the highest level. In Utsarpiṇi again, the first Ārā of division is

(7) Ud-up and Sarpa-to move, to appear; that period of time in which all the things rise gradually and steadily to a higher level of their own species.

(8) Ava-down and Sarpa-to move, to appear; growing downwards steadily and progressively.

(9) Ārā really means a "spoke in a wheel." As the wheel rolls round, they move up and down. The wheel of time rolls regularly round, and these divisions begin and end very regularly.

the shortest, and the last is the longest. In Avasarpiṇi, the first Arā is the longest, and the last the shortest. The increase and decrease in happiness, wealth, health, duration of life, sorrow, temptation, illusion, unhappiness, misery and in all the things of the world, synchronize with the increase and decrease in the duration of these Ārās.

As fixed in Āryan scriptures, these yugas–Aeons,–and Ārās were the chief divisions of the endless Time. But these still have their sub-divisions. Each sub-division is known as Udaya in Jainism. These are all so well-arranged that time goes on its way unhindered. But when one yuga or Ārā is to end and the other is to begin, things begin to move more quickly than ever, and even the ordinary people become conscious of a vast change that is to take place. We call this interval the crisis. According to the Vedic religion, at the time of such a crisis, a great man is born; according to Jainism a great Soul, a Tīrthaṅkara is born[10].

All things in the universe are thus controlled by an established and unhindered Law of Nature. The age with which this volume deals was one of the innumberable Udayas; and according to the Vedic belief, authors of Śrutis, who were then considered great men, were born at this time; according to Jainism the twenty-third of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras was born. The second crisis that occured in the 6th century B. C. was of no less magnitude than the one that occurred in the 8th century B. C. At this time was born Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains; at this time was born Buddha, the founder of Buddhism; at this time was born the great emperor Bimbisāra of Magadha, of the Śiśunāga dynasty. A third great crisis took place at the end of the first century B. C., when Jesus Christ was born. At that time the crisis was on a lower pitch in Āryāvarta. Consequently

(10) Śrī Kṛsna in Gīta has said to Arjuna that He takes birth in every yuga for the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked, and for the re-establishment of religion.

Paritrāṇāya sādhūnām vināśāya cha duskṛtām |
Dharmasaṁsthāpanāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge |

no great man was born; but there ruled then a valorous king, not a whit inferior to Bimbisāra of Magadha. The Āryan people have perpetuated his name by adopting the Era started by him. By this time the reader might have realized that the appearance of great men depends upon certain Laws of eternal Time; that the scriptural belief with regard to this, is, if not wholly, at least substantially, true.

How Nature favoured men in those times?

During the 8th century B. C. and onwards, there was Kaliyuga according to the Vedic religion, and the fourth Ārā of Avasarpiṇi according to Jainism, which says that the fifth Arā began after three years and eight-and-half months after the absolution-Nirvāṇa-of the last and the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara-Mahāvīra. (527 B. C. October). The time between the eighth century B. C. and the last quarter of the sixth century B. C. is included in the fourth Ārā.

As stated above, during Utsarpiṇi, the fertility of the soil and the wealth of the people go on increasing to the highest point. In Avasarpiṇi, just the reverse happens. As the eighth century B. C. is included in Avasarpiṇi, the fertility of the soil, and the resources of the earth, were gradually deteriorating. But things had not moved to such a crisis when men may have to hanker after and devote all their time and energy in earning a livelihood. (Detailed description of the conditions of these times is given in the next chapter). Of the three things[11] that have become part and parcel of the nature of men and their means of maintenance, one was non-existent at that time, and the second and the third were only in embryo. Rain-fall was plentiful; there was no lack

(11) Wealth, Land & Woman, are the (principal) origins of (all) strifes (in the world).

These three are at the root of all the quarrels of the world. The ancients have wisely arranged them in order of their priority and importance.

(A) Wealth: It is necessary to satisfy one's personal, but superfluous, needs. As one becomes more and more engrossed in worldly things, an insatiable desire for wealth burns in his heart for ever. He leaves no stone unturned to obtain money. As a result, falsehood, wicked actions, loss of

of corn and fruits; forests were in abundance; rivers were swollen with water for all the months of the year. Famine was unknown. People enjoyed life; and they were sturdy, tall, and perfectly healthy. As they were extraordinarily healthy and happy, they lived

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health and reckless rivalry have surrounded the world on all sides. One never knows when such a state of things will cease to be.

(B) Land : Kings fight for two reasons; (1) they want to secure absolute sovereignty for themselves; they would have no objection to allowing the sub-ordinate kings to manage the internal administration of their provinces in their own way. (The system which prevailed when a number of kingdoms were federally bound together) (2) the victorious kings may exterminate the whole family of the conquered king, and thus may himself become the king of the land.

(C) Woman : From times immemorial men have fought for beautiful women

All quarrels of men have their origin in any of these three or a combination of them. Woman is the oldest evil; land followed later on and last came wealth.

During the fourth Ārā, people had not to worry in the least about their maintenance. Wealth was totally powerless to create quarrels. Land did play a part, but the kings fought with each other just in order to establish their absolute sovereignty as stated above. They had no idea whatsoever of exterminating the whole family of the defeated kings and becoming themselves the rulers of conquered territories. History says that, that idea took its birth after the end of the fourth Ārā. The querrels for women are as old as Time; they began with the creation of women. When the incentives of snatching pieces of land from one another for the sake of being absolute sovereigns, and of amassing incalculable riches, are absent there remains the third and powerful incentive to quarrels e. g. woman.

The reader will now understand that the quarrels about women are as old as Creation; the quarrels for land and wealth came into being only after the fourth Ārā was over. (after 523 B.C.). The quarrels about land assume a definite form after the invasions of the foreigners like Alexander the Great in 327 B. C. The quarrels about earning wealth began with the hoardings of Mahānanda; but the oppression of human beings in order to possess wealth for wealth's sake began right with Agnimitra of the Śunga dynasty. For these reasons, prominence is given to the names of these two kings at the beginning of the Kaliyuga.

Some details about wealth might not be out of place here. We shall take wealth in the sense of metallic money. When people began to be

a longer life; their bodies were symmetrical and proportionately large. Their brains were clear, their thinking power high, their memory almost infallible; so that they could remember everything easily. Thus when Nature's bounty is plentiful, men have not to worry about their bellies. As time went on, the memory of the people began to falter; unlike their forefathers they could not retain for a long time, what they had heard. Hence some exceptionally gifted persons composed Śrutis and Smṛtis for these people of inferior talent. We can not help conjecturing that there must not have existed any script before the composition of these holy books. This period may reasonably be called the time of the appearance of the authors of Śrutis and Smṛtis.[12]

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attracted and allured by wealth, different metals were given different values. People had gold in abundance, and they had no need to use it for their maintenance. Gold was used for ornaments and decorations only. When it was needed for business purposes, gold-dust was used in bigger transactions, while in smaller ones coins were used. Other metals lay calmly in the womb of earth. This will help to explain why people of ancient times were not much acquainted with metals as the people of the present times are.

If this is to explain the beginning of use of wealth, it becomes obvious that the ancients did not much use metals; their weapons were made of some other materials. The greater the use of metals, the faster are we approaching modernity.

When the significance of the facts and conclusions stated here, is fully understood, those students of history who are grappling with the puzzling problem, whether civilization flowed from the East to the West or from the West to the East, will see a path through the maze of difficulties.

At times, when it becomes difficult to logically connect the sequence of events, it would be better to assume, that the then prevailing Udayas exerted their influence more powerfully on those times, than to take for granted that the God of Time had lost his power. At present the Udayas are short due to Avasarpiṇi, and consequently have less influence; in ancient times they were long due to Utsarpiṇi, and their influence lasted for a longer time. These conclusions are logical. One cannot however fix into water-tight compartments the duration and the influence of the Udayas as shorter and less powerful than their predecessors, or longer and more powerful than their followers, in Avasarpiṇi and Utsarpiṇi respectively.

(12) See the paragraph on 'Script and the art of writing' in the next chapter.

When Nature thus showered her bounty plentifully over the people, no one would care to write histories or collect historical materials. They needed not our artificial eras, and yet they lived more happily. Every one was free to use his time and energy in his own way. Thus the two foundation-stones of the edifice of history, the art of writing and the fixing of dates, were conspicuous by their absence in those times. Things and events were not arranged into their chronological and historical sequence. Here it would be necessary to utter a word of caution: one should be far from believing that there was nothing like knowledge and learning among those people. Free from the pangs of unemployment, they wholly devoted themselves to making their social life better and richer, to thinking about Nature and her wonders. The modern scientific inventions, which profess to bring about a millenium upon the world, and which make people stand lost in amazement by their novelties, were then the order of the day, only with different terminology and different uses. Of course it is impossible to put forth conclusive and authoritative evidence to put the above statement beyond cavils of doubt, yet stray[13] instances and events from those times, the veracity of which is proved, very strongly lead to the above conclusion.

Were people in those times illiterate ?

Having thus stated briefly the conditions of the times with which this book deals, we shall proceed further with our narration.

(13). Most of these events are described in these volumes.



Chapter II

A detailed description of the conditions of the times.

Synopsis—*The mutual positions of men and women—The place of the people in the administration of the country—The king, his councillors and ministers, or the body representing them—A short description of the various public departments—Nature of crimes, means of their suppression, jails and their regulations—Village reformation and reconstruction, village councils and their activities—Rivers, streams, and forests—The construction of the city, the wall around it, the cleanliness and the sculpture of the roads, mansions and house-lanes, streets, market-places, places for rest and recreation—Vehicles and animals used in business transactions on land—What natural advantages were there for oversea trade, and which of them were utilized by the people?—The type of education and educational facilities—Police and military departments, different divisions of the army and their positions—Rules and customs about slaves and servants—Caste distinctions, matrimonial, religious and social problems arising from them—The hierarchical order of the subdivisions of these castes which are the origin of the modern social economic, and religious evils—Marriage and the proper age for it—Physical fitness of the people and the consequent longevity of life—Religious tolerance—Relations between and duties of husband and wife—Excise department and the expenditure of administration—Types of wealth and the methods of exchange—Language, script, and the art of writing—Adoption of the Era to fix the dates—Messengers and the foreign ambassadors—Costume of the people—Ceremonies at the time of death and the cremation of the dead body—General description.*

When one wants to compare two things, one ought to have full knowledge about these two things. If we want to compare the modern times with the ancient times, we will have to study the ancient times. The subject is slightly touched in the first chapter; but that is not enough for a sound comparison. Moreover, it is not possible to obtain positive evidence about the time with which we have to deal; if we get a piece of evidence here and there, it cannot be arranged into a neat logical order. There is no way but to be content with what broken facts we have about the sixth century B. C.; consequently we will have to conjecture that the 8th. century B. C. was superior to the sixth century B. C. in all the branches of life.

Comparision

The woman was considered not only not inferior to man, but, in certain matters, quite superior. Hers was the last word in the management of household matters and social affairs – things in which she could naturally exercise superior judgment. The male sex dominated in economic considerations, business transactions, and wide and complicated subjects like politics. There was no unalterable law about the domination of sexes in all questions. Though the maxim that "Gods are favourable where women are worshipped"[1] was duly understood and faithfully observed, yet women never interferred unnecessarily in men's sphere of activities, because they understood and remembered what type of work was assigned to them by Nature and by birth. The woman unreservedly accepted man as her superior, and did not entertain the modern idea of the equality of sexes. They considered it a privilege to be useful to men whenever they could. They did not move in the society like full-blown ballons, just because they were learned, rich, born of a high family, or accomplished in any other way. They dutifully and unhesitatingly performed the noble part of being agreeable mates to their husbands.[2] They acknowledged the superiority of men in their capacity to work

Honourable treatment of the fair sex

(1) See and think about the conversation between Triśalā and Siddhārtha, the parents of Mahāvīra, on life, in Kalpasūtra, a religious book of the Jains.

(2) Compare with this the ideas of modern women.

for the benefit of the country, and never intruded upon them their own judgements and opinions, however right and laudable they might be considering them to be. On the other hand, they encouraged men to do such noble works, and rendered them whatever help was demanded of them. Both men and women were independent in their own spheres, and paid due attention to the self-respect of one another.

There is no evidence to prove that women had any legal rights of heirship to the family property. On festival occasions, presents, proper to the occasions, were given to them; and they became absolute owners of such property, and could utilize it whenever they liked, in their own spiritual well-being chiefly.

Kings were not mad after amassing great fortunes and increasing their territory.[3] They thought it honourbale to protect and preserve the land which they inherited from their fore-fathers. Consequently, federal system of government was in full swing everywhere.[4] There were no emperors; there were independent kings ruling contentedly their own territories, large or small. The king, whose family was the most ancient, valorous, noblest and engrossed in the beneficial task of public good, was selected as a leader by the other kings.[5] Such a king had no[6] power to interfere in the internal administration of the territories of the kings under his leadership; but when events occurred which concerned all of them at a time, all these kings readily rallied together under the banner of their leader, because they fully understood the significance of the maxim that "An army without a leader is like a flock of sheep without a shepherd.[7]"

Kings, councillors and the formation of cabinets

(3) See f. n. No. 11, Chapter one.

(4) Refer to the monthly "Purātattva" pp. 2, for further information on Federal System of Government.

(5) Mahāvīra's father Siddhārtha was one such king; see Kalpasūtra.

(6) Cheṭaka, king of Vaiśālī, was a leader-king of this kind; he was considered the crowning jewel among Lichchhavi kshatriyas. Similarly Buddha's father Siddhārtha was the head of the Śākya family.

(7) This was the peculiarity of this system. Buddha religious books also contain references to this system. Compare with this the meetings of king's cabinet.

These small kings were really speaking landlords; but they were called kings.[8]. Such a king was neither the absolute nor the despotic sovereign of his province. The province was divided into several units either on the basis of income or on the basis of area. Over each such unit, a Nāgarikajana – a representative citizen – was appointed.[9] On necessary occasions a meeting of these Nāgarikajanas was summoned, and administrative policy was moulded according to the decisions of these meetings. These Nāgarikajanas, on account of the nature of their work, were also given the name of – Mantries – ministers.[10]. Their opinions were respected in revenue, civil, and criminal courts[11]. Of course, there certainly were regular officers and offices with necessary staffs[12]. But the author's intention is to drive home the idea that the ruler and the ruled were not separate entities, the one ordering and the other obeying, but that they were like links of the same chain, none inferior to the other. They wholeheartedly cooperated with each other keeping in mind the wellbeing of all.

There were jails always open for persons who were sentenced by civil and criminal courts. At the time of royal festival occasions, these prisoners were remembered and released.[13]. Crimes were few and far between. Even at the beginning of the fourth century B. C., not to talk of the sixth, the percentage of crimes was as low as 1·8 per cent,

Jails

(8) See f. n. No. 5 above.

(9) See the paragraph on village-councils and their discussions for the names given to the Nāgarikajanas of such units.

(10) Śreṇika had five hundred ministers; these ministers are to be taken to mean these Nāgarikajanas. In modern official terminology, they may be given the name of Municipal Corporators.

(11) Daṇḍanāyakas and Koṭavālas were officers of this kind.

(12) See f. n. No. 11. It cannot be asserted definitely whether there was an element of election system at this time among the people, though it is proved that there was an election system in religious matters. (Like Buddha Councils).

(13) Prisoners were released chiefly on three occasions:—coronation ceremony, the birth of the heir-apparent, or a great victory over the enemy. (See Kalpasūtra : about the occasion of Mahāvīra's birth: and the rock inscriptions of Emperor Priyadarśin.

according to Magesthenes, the Greek ambassador. We can easily imagine the rarity of such heinous crimes as abduction and murder, though they were not wholly non-existent; Jain books at times refer to capital punishment;[14]. Buddha and Chinese books and narratives yield evidence of punishments like cutting some parts or limbs of the bodies[15]. We shall have to admit that the nature of crimes and the ways to punish them were different from those in modern times.

Rural administration and village-councils

The modern municipalities, district councils, and county councils, did exist at those times under different nomenclature. Their existence is proved by the titles and official designations which were at that time given to the officers appointed for such purposes[16]. It also seems probable that petty quarrels between individuals, merchants and others, and even at times big quarrels might have generally been hushed up or settled by these councils.[17]. The author has yet not found any reference which might lead him to believe that big quarrels, robberies and other differences of opinions were settled by a hand-to-hand fight.

Famine was not known even by its name till the end of the fourth Ārā, (523 B. C.).[18], as rainfall was satisfactory year after year. People had never to undergo the hardships of famine, though they might possibly have heard something about it,

(14) References to people being punished to death by "Śūḷī"—(The victim is made to rest his navel on a conic iron pillar with a sharp point, and then the pillar is made to turn round and round very fast; in no time it pierces the whole body through the navel and emerges at the back; and the victim is off)—are abundant. References to people being punished to death by the rope method are rare.

(15) It is found in some books that the labourers employed in building the famous Chinese Wall were thus punished. This was built when Emperor Priyadarśin ruled over India. (Vide the account of his life.)

(16) See f. n. 9 above and the matter connected with it; for details vide the account of Chandragupta where extracts from Arthaśāstra are quoted.

(17) Vide further pages of this volume and f. n. "Buddhistic India" p. 16. connected with it.

(18) Vide Chapter I, "How Nature favoured men in those times",

generation after generation, from their forefathers, just to give them a very vague and hazy notion about it. Rainfall being abundant, rivers and streams flowed throughout the year. Green foliage cooled the eye for miles and miles. Cattle were almost overfed. The forests were so dense that not a single ray of the sun could penetrate them at any time of the day. When caravans had to cross such forests, they were guided by land-pilots,[19] who were intimately acquainted with all the paths. Rivers were so deep that people had to cross them in boats,[20] specially when they had to cross large rivers.[21]. Through the demarkation-margins between one field and another, water flowed constantly thus making each field appear like an island. The farmers erected small huts in their own fields and lived there. These huts, situated near one another, gave the onlooker the idea of a small village.

Forests, rivers, streams etc.

Large cities had strongly built walls around them. Generally wood was chiefly used in such fortifications for two reasons :— (1) there was an abundance of wood due to the existence of dense forests, (2) these forests had again to be cut through, on account of the increase in population, due to the influence of the all-powerful god Time. (p. 7). At regular distances in the city wall there were gates, between which there were numerous turrets and spires. The number of these turrets and gates depended on the area of the city[22].

Cities, fortifications, buildings etc.

The houses and buildings in the city were chiefly built of wood. This does not mean that neither bricks nor lime nor stones were used at that time. They were there,[23] but they were not as much used as they are to-day. Bricks, lime, and stones

(19) C. H. I. p. 207.

(20) The merchants and caravans crossed rivers by means of boats.

(21) It is stated in Jaina books that Mahāvīra had to cross the river Ganges in a boat. (Kalpasūtra Com. There must not have existed large bridges in those times).

(22) The description of Pātaliputra by Magesthenes supports the contention.

(23) See Sir John Marshall's description of the ruins of the city of Mohanjādero.

were used in greater proportion in palaces, public buildings, mansions of millionaries, temples, and such other places. Cleanliness was the order of the day in all the houses.[24] There were no sky-crapers. People were satisfied with one floor buildings,[25] be they the buildings of an ordinary citizen, be they the palaces or temples. Two reasons might be advanced for this:—(i) Life at that time was simple; there was God's plenty in the world; people had no need of building big houses to store up things for emergencies; for, emergencies there were almost none; (ii) Men were at least twice as tall as they are now,[26] and consequently required taller houses; as a result, two floors of those times were as high as four floors of our time[27].

Roads, Ways, Streets, Lanes, Resting places etc.

Four main roads, emerging from the four main gates of the fort-wall, met in the centre of the city. At many a place in the city, two, three, four or more roads met,[28] thus facilitating the communication among the people. Generally for each vocation, a particular part of the city was reserved, the centres being the places where the representatives of different vocations could meet and exchange commodities. This statement should not lead any reader to believe that there were water-tight compartments for all vocations. Roads were generally straight, broad, and there were regular rows of trees on both the sides.

(24) See the ruins of Mohanjādero.

(25) See the structure of the ruins of Mohanjādero, the construction of the pillar named Bhārhūta-stupa (by Ajātśatṛ and Prasenjita); the descriptions of the processions of the bridegrooms in the cities as given in the Kalpasūtra; yield ample information about the houses and mansions; at least they prove that houses and temples had floors above the ground floor.

(26) Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthankara, of the Jainas, was 10 ft. and 6 in. in height.

(27) Can we not get from this, some idea about the *antiquity of Mohanjādero*? Archeological experts are of the opinion that the remnants of the city indicate its civilization and culture to be that of *7000 or 8000 B. C.* The author, after much research work, has come to the conclusion *that the* city toppled to its ultimate ruin about 535 B. C. consequently, its civilization cannot be older than that of 2000 B. C.

(28) See Kalpasūtra commentaries, pp. 59., for the *description*.

Side-streets and narrow streets were few and far between. Some streets had only one outlet; some others stretched upto the city wall, and consequently, had no other opening. Such streets, if they were large, were called "Pādās", their sub-divisions being given the name of "Up-pādās"[29]. These "Pādās" and "Up-pādās" derived their names from either the richest, or the bravest, or in any other way, the most distinguished personage residing in them.[30].

There was no rule to the effect that the son should step into the shoes of his father as far as vocations or means of livelihood were concerned. The guild system came into existence in the time of king Bimbisāra. Every one adopted his calling for life, according to his own inclinations. As a result, one Pādā presented a scene of wide and varied activities, representing various professions, though they can stand no comparison with the business world of to-day, with its break-neck competition, where one has no time to "stand and stare."[31] This was due to a profusion of natural resources, and the simple life of the people.

There were numerous parks, gardens, bowers, travellers' rest-houses, recreation grounds, everywhere throughout the city.

Main roads were generally well-built. Very long roads connected great business centres.[32] Trees were planted on both the sides of such roads to provide shade for the travellers, caravans, and

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(29) Due to this reason, the names of "Pādās" and "Up-pādās" in one city were sometimes the same as those in other ones. (For example, in both Rājagṛhī and Vaiśālī, we have "Nanda's Pādā", and "Up-Nanda's Pādā.". In modern Ahmedābād and Pātan, we have lanes, "Pādās", and Streets bearing the same name.

(30) See Kalpasūtra commentaries, pp. 86; "Nanda's Pādā" and "Up-Nanda's Pādā" are mentioned there

(31) C. H. I. P. 207:—

Other more favourable crafts were ivory-working, weaving, confectionary, jewellery and work in precious metals, bow and arrow making, pottery and garland-making, and head-dressing. Despised callings were connected with slaying of animals, and work on their bodies, eg. hunters, trappers, fishermen, butchers, tanners and others; e. g. snake-charming, acting, dancing etc.".

(32) Roads stretched from Pātaliputra to Takśaśilā, from Kāśī to Kauśāmbī, and from Avantī to Bhṛgukachha, (The modern Broach).

beasts carrying loads who had to pass on them again and again. Stone pillars were erected on the way to indicate distance. Resting-places, wells and such other facilities were not wanting.

Animals used in bearing heavy loads

Bullocks were the staple means for bearing heavy loads. Not many references are found indicating a similar use of camels and mules. It is possible that the mule may be the result of one of the modern scientific experiments to breed hybrids;[33] and the camels might have been used only in deserts[34]. It may be due to this reason that the general descriptions of travels of those times do not contain any reference to these animals. Adventurous merchants spared no pains in travelling upto the far ends of the country, and on account of their capacity for business organization, became owners of incredible wealth.

Horses are not found to be the carriers of heavy mercantile loads; but it seems that horses and bullocks were made to run for races. These races were not speculation-ridden as they are now. They were a means of recreation and pastime, giving the owners of these animals a sort of self-satisfaction that their animals were the best.

Adventurous merchants travelled through all the wide world, for trade purposes.[35] Ships, big and small, were used for such

(33) The author is of opinion that the mule is a modern product. Experiments to create new species of fruits and flowers are very frequently made in Botany. Similarly in Zoology, experiments might have been made to bring about a new species of animals.

(34) Deserts must have been few in those times; camels are always found in abundance in sandy regions.

The Jesalmīr Desert in Mārwār, has, according to my belief, come into existence about 535 B. C. This may be true because camels are not much mentioned in books containing descriptions of trade in ancient India.

(35) Merchants of those times have been found to have travelled from Java and Sumatra in the East to Arabia and onwards in the West—we do not know how far due to changes in the names of places and countries,—but we can be certain about the people of the countries in the far West trading with the people of Śākadwīpa and with the Āryan and the Non-Āryan people. In the time of Śreṇika, the prince of Ārdradesha, Ārdrakumāra by name, had come to India, allured by the description of the wealth and

voyages. Evidently, the craft of ship-building and maritime activities must have flourished very much in those times. They must have specially flourished on two coast lines:

Marine activities and sea-voyage for business and commerce

(1) That portion of the coast line which begins with the opening of the river Narmadā and ends with port of Goa; this portion was called the northern division of the Aparānta country in those times. (2) The southern end of the west coast, which is now called Malabār coast, and in those times was called Carel coast. The natives of these coasts must have acquired a sound knowledge of Geography and Astronomy from their constant touch with the sea; but wealth and encouragement were chiefly given to them by inland merchant-millionaires. These merchants, who carried business on a very vast scale, came chiefly from North India, because South India was studded with dense forests and the people were comparatively uncivilized. Both the eastern and western coasts of South India were full of civilized people who had come to stay there from North India. The people dwelling in the interior of the South Indian Peninsula had

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grandeur of India given to him by an Indian merchant. Ārdrādesha means modern Arabiā and the area stretching upon Aden. The Greeks and the Egyptians, having heard of the flourishing trade of India from Indian merchants who had gone there for commercial purposes, were very anxious to come to India for business connections. All the information proves at least one thing:—The prevalence of long sea-voyages in those times. "Bhārat Kā Samkshipta Itihāsa," p. 211—"The great historian Pliny says that an incredible amount of wealth constantly flowed from Rome towards India." This means that the balance of trade was highly in favour of India. Again, "India earned at least 4 million pounds every year from Rome. The trade of Rome suffered such a shock that a law was passed boycotting the import of Indian goods in Rome." From this it becomes evident that boycott is a time-old weapon in political and economic struggles.

There is ample evidence to prove that Bhṛgukachha or what Ptolemy calls Bregenza, (the modern Broach), Sopāraka, (the modern Sopārā or Nālāsopārā), Gokarṇapuri, (the modern Goā), and, and Lakṣmipuri, (we do not know whether any modern port represents this great ancient port, but it must have been situated between Goā and Sopārā), were very famous ports of ancient India.

no opportunities of coming into contact with these civilized people because of the two natural gigantic barriers in both the directions e. g. the two ranges of the Sahyāndri Mountains, Eastern Ghāt and Western Ghāt. To the people of North India, the South Indian Peninsula was of no particular economic importance. The furthest southern end of these mountain ranges was inhabited by civilized people, but was not worth much attention from the business point of view.

Large and deep rivers were crossed with the help of boats[36].

Education, Universities, Colleges, Village Schools Etc.

Primary education was imparted in the village schools,[37] as it is done to-day. There were sepatate colleges and institutes for different branches of study[38]. When primary education and higher education were so carefully attended to, it is reasonable to conjecture that secondary education was not neglected. We have to admit that not many references are found of institutes, imparting secondary education. Sons of rich men were specially trained,—by what to us would seem a very peculiar system of education,—for acquiring sound common sense and a perfect social behaviour, by courtesans[39]. The reader has here to understand that the courtesan of ancient India was totally different from the courtesan of to-day; and the accounts of the lives of persons trained under them, afford ample evidence for the above statement. We have no right to be prejudiced against the character of such women simply because they were given the appellation of courtesans.

There were many "Gurukulas" or residential schools. Such

(36) Mahāvīra, the last Tirthaṅkara of the Jains, had once crossed the river Ganges in a boat.

(37) See Kalpasūtra commentaries pp. 74, where Mahāvīra has been described as going to school.

(38) The Universities of Nālandā and Takśaśilā.

(39) Valkalchiri, the brother of Prasannachandra, king of Pratiṣṭhānpura, was given social training in this manner. (See B. B. V. pp. 122). Sthulibhadraji, the son of Śakadāla, who was the prime minister of the ninth Nanda king, was also trained in this manner. This Sthulibhadra was the Guru of Bhadrabāhuswāmi, who was the preceptor of the Emperor Chandragupta. (See B. B. V. pp. 68). For further information, see in this book the passage quoted from Arthashāstra, (pp. 182) in the account of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta.

institutes must have filled the place of the secondary schools of to-day. Students in such boarding schools had naturally two advantages over the boys going to the non-residential high schools of to-day:—(1) upto the time they studied in such schools, they could not marry e. g. they reaped all the advantages of leading a celibate life; (2) they could come into contact with boys hailing from various provinces, and thus could acquire a sound knowledge of the ways of the world. Thus, the boarding system prevailed in those times.

In universities, special classes were conducted for special branches of knowledge. The world-famous universities of those times are mentioned in various books concerning those times. (1) The university of Nālandā, situated in the town of Nālandā, which was near Rājgṛhi, the capital of the country of Magadha. (2) The Takśaśilā university situated in Takśaśilā, the capital of Gāndhāra country, the modern Punjāb. In the time of king Śreṇika, e. g. in the time of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha, the Takśaśilā University was of greater importance than the Nālandā University. (The Takśaśilā University was famous for its medical education. This may be due to a close contact with the Persian traders, whose country was far advanced in medical science.) But when the ninth Nanda king conquered Gāndhāra and brought the learned trio of Pāṇini, Chāṇakya, Vararuchi, from Takśaśilā to Nālandā, the Nālandā University came into the fore-front[40].

Boys began to go to school when they were seven or eight years old, and their general education was over by the time they were fifteen or sixteen years old. Those of them who wanted to make themselves specialists in any branch of knowledge, joined the university.

The hierachy of official order that is found to be existing to-day in this department, must have been conspicuous by its absence in those times. But the existence of a department akin to the modern Police department is sufficiently proved when we come across words like "Kotavāla" (City fouzdar) and "Daṇḍanāyaka."

The Police department

(40) See the information about king Mahānanda further on in this book.

(Police Superintendent). Of course our conception of the duties and responsibilities of these officers may differ from the conception of the ancients. Many reasons might be advanced to explain the absence of a complicated official machinery in this department in those times. People were happy; means of livelihood were ample; unemployment was not known even by its name. As a result incentives to thefts, quarrels, and strifes were far and few between[41]. Petty strifes and quarrels were settled by Village Pañchāyats (Councils)[42]. Consequently, the officers in this department concerned themselves with cases of greater importance. Even then, the king himself took much interest in such cases, and thus facilitated and lightened the task of these officers. Kings usually took a round about the city at night in cognito, in order to gather information pertaining to important cases, and sometimes they solved, in a wonderfully short time, the mysteries that puzzled the officers of this department. Thus these officers and the king came into close contact with one another and their claim to be called the protectors of the lives and the property of the people, was entirely justified.

The divisions of the Army

The army was chiefly divided into four parts:—(i) infantry (ii) cavalry (iii) elephants and (iv) chariots. For details about the official terminology, duties and responsibilities, and the salaries and wages given to them, the reader is referred to the passages from Arthashāstra in the chapter on Chandragupta, the Maurayan Emperor. Of course the time of Chandragupta is 400 B. C., and thus we cannot assert that even before that time the same conditions prevailed; but if the conditions were not the same, they were also not entirely different.

The criterion of the invincibility and the strength of any army was the number of elephants possessed by it. The more elephants a king possessed, the greater were his safety and chances of victory. Thousands of elephants were possessed by kings right

(41) Even during two centuries after this time, the cases of thefts were very few. See the diary of Magesthenes who was appointed as an ambassador in the reign of king Aśoka.

(42) Compare with this the paragraph on Village Councils in the former pages of this volume.

upto the time of king Aśoka, who had consented to offer as a present, five hundred elephants to Selukas Nikator, in order to preserve his honour at the time of the treaty. (This Selukas Nikator afterwards had given his daughter in marriage to king Aśoka).

Though the four above-mentioned divisions chiefly comprised an army, Chaṇḍapradyota, king of Avanti, is described as using speedy female camels[43] for political purposes. This leads us to the conclusion that such animals also might have formed a part -may be small-of any army. These animals might have been used either in war activities or in some other political activities.

The number of chariots was not small. The king drove himself to the field of battle in a chariot; and generally all the chief officers used chariots. These chariots were drawn by one or more horses. Elephants and chariots have completely disappeared, but we cannot positively fix the date of their disappearance. The existence of chariots can be traced upto the foundation of the Rāṣṭra dynasty[44].

Bows and arrows, spears, swords, shields, daggers were the main weapons and implements used in battles. Rifles, guns and machine-guns have not been found to have existed during those times. We do not know whether there were any aeroplanes, bombs, or poisonous gases in those times. One of the literary books of those times contains references to Vidyādharas-a special kind of deities or gods-making use of their craft of flying in the sky, for the protection of their religion.

Bullocks, horses, chariots and elephants were chiefly used for carrying men and their burden from place to place. Palanquins were also used by chief officers of the state and by rich persons for their daily movements in the city. There was a special class of people whose profession was palanquin-bearing[45] but they were not slaves in any sense of the word.

Vehicles

One might very naturally ask whether slavery, in any form, existed in ancient India. Servants there were, as they are now,

(43) See Sir Cunningham's "The Bhārhutā Stūpa" pp. 27.

(44) See further in the chapter about Shatavāhan dynasty the information about Queen Nāganikā's father.

(45) We are, here, reminded of the Rikshaws still used in Madras and Burma.

and perhaps will be in future, because all men are not intellectually equally gifted in this world. Intellectual inequalities are mainly responsible for creating masters and servants. But servants are surely not slaves. A servant is he who is free to throw off one master for another; he has the right to choose his own master. A slave has no such right. His food, clothes, treatment, even his very life depend upon the sweet will of his master. Even the marriages of the children of the slaves are decided by their masters. Every movement of a slave is according to the will of his master. We can confidently assert that no such slavery existed in ancient India. There were servants-male and female-who changed and exchanged their masters as freely as those masters exchanged and changed their servants.

Servants and Slaves

The population of India was divided into four classes: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Each class had its own rules and conventions, and its own occupations and means of livelihood. The people in each class were satisfied with their own work, and each son cheerfully followed the footsteps of his father. These four classes still continue to exist in India, though much importance is not now attached to them. Caste distinctions and religious sections were unknown then, because they came into existence much later[46]. The wide and complicated variety of castes and sub-castes that we see in India to-day, was the result of many causes; population began to increase and people had to move further to the interior regions inhabited by uncivilised tribes; customs and conventions were set up by people to prohibit other people encroaching upon their occupations and curtailing their means of livelihood; peculiar marriage laws were established to stop any further mixture of blood; petty religious creeds took hold of the mind of this group of populace and that; and many other causes were responsible for the most deplorable caste and creed divisions that we see in India to-day. Between 900 B. C. to 600 B. C. people were either followers of the Jain religion or

Class distinctions, Castes, Marriages and Religion

(46) For proofs see further in the chapters on the Maurya dynasty.

the Vêdic religion. Between 600 B. C. to 100 A. D. Gautama Buddha established Buddhism. People followed any one of these three religions. Any man, belonging to any of the above-mentiond four classes, could follow any religion that appealed to him. Class distinctions and observation of faith did not in any way influence each other.

As time went on, and population increased and means of livelihood began to decrease on account of the influence of God Time, something like the mediæval guild-system came into existence. People were classified according to their occupations, the number of which was speedily increasing[47]. The result was that any man could not select any occupation for which he had a natural aptitude.

It would be interesting to quote here a sentence from pp. 37 of the Oxford History of India : "Separate Castes existed from an early date. Their relations to one another remain unaffected whether they are grouped theoretically under four occupational headings or not." (the italics are mine). We can clearly see that the word "caste" is here confused with and used for the word "guild" (Shreṇi), because as stated just above, nothing like castes ever existed during that time. The difference-and an important difference-between castes and guilds was this : intermarriage among castes was impossible, while it was the order of the day among different guilds. To make matters clearer we would say, (i) to know that a particular man belonged to a particular guild, indicated his occupation; (ii) to know that a person belonged to a certain caste meant that he could not marry with any one belonging to a caste other than his own. Here we see how the original four "classes" were divided into "guilds", which were sub-divided into "castes", although these divisions were not, what we would say into logic, "mutually exhaustive". That a person belonged to a particular "class", had nothing much to do with his occupation. A Brāhmin could devote his life to religious preaching or plunge himself headlong into a political career, according to his own

(47) See C. H. I. pp. 206, "Important handicrafts were organised into guilds." (Vide also pp. 96 "Buddhistic India.")

inclination. These "guilds" were created by the Emperor Bimbisāra who, on that account was nicknamed "Shreṇika" (builder of guilds) in about 600 B. C.

Commensality and interconnubium prevailed among persons belonging to the same religion, class, or "guild." This does not mean that disorder and confusion were in full swing. It only means that no body objected to, or censured persons who intermarried and believed in commensality. Generally marriages took place between persons who were intellectually and morally, and sometimes materially, on the same level, no matter to whatever class, religion, or guild they belonged[48]. Even distances of each other's native places did not matter. One law was rigorously observed: persons belonging to the same clan or persons in whose veins flowed the same type of blood, did not marry[49]. For instance the group of Kshatriyas named Saṁvrijis, was divided into eighteen clans (Lichhavi, Gnat, Malla etc.). A Kshatriya belonging to the Lichhavi clan could marry a girl of the Gnat clan, but he could not a marry a girl belonging to his own clan. That persons belonging to different classes and guilds could intermarry is certain because emperor Bimbisāra (Shreṇika), the originator of the guilds system, himself gave his daughters in marriage to Vaishyas and Shudras, even though he was a Kshatriya[50]; and had himself married with girls belonging to the Vaishya class[51]. This freedom about marriages had not a long life to live. The Brahmins soon asserted their superiority, and being religious preachers, fixed in the minds of the people that to intermarry among the four classes was a sin.

(48) A change came over the mentality of the people during the interval of time between Emperor Chandragupta and Emperor Aśoka. See further on in this book.

(49) Chetaka, king of Vaiśāli, had given his seven daughters in marriage to kings of very distant countries. (for further information vide the chapter on "Vaiśāli country").

(50) His daughter named Manoramā was married to a member of the Vaishya class named Dhannā. His other daughter was married to a Shudra (a Chanḍāla) Mauryaputra.

(51) His own queen and the mother of his son, Abhayakumār, who was also his prime minister, was the daughter of a Vaishya.

Emperor Nanda the Second of Magadha–Mahāpadma by name–had a hard time with his Brahmin[52] preceptors.

In short, in or about 600 B. C. people followed one of the three religions, and belonged to one of the four classes. A century later, guilds came into existence. Lastly came into being class consciousness due to the Brahmin preachers, and later on the various castes and subcastes that we see in India to-day.

As time went on, this open-mindedness about marriage and religion began to disappear. Narrow-mindedness began to permeate gradually the minds of the people. Generally, these things depended on the king who ruled over the country. During the reigns of emperors like Khārvel[53], Aśoka, and Priyadarshin, tolerance both in religion and marriages was the order of the day. But after Priyadarshin, his descendents like Pushyamitra and Agnimitra, were orthodox and intolerant in these matters[54]. Both nature and God Time were working for the downfall of India[55] and for over a long interval of a century and a quarter, such intolerance and religious persecution prevailed. Kings began to fight against one another and thus the monkey in the form of the foreign invader[56], made the cat's paw of the foolish kings of India[57].

(52) Mahāpadma has been called "Kālāshoka" in the Brahmin mythological books, because he had married two girls from the Shudra class. See f. n. 53 below.

(53) It is said that Emperor Khārvel had married a girl from Baluchistan. Examples of religious tolerance · Aśoka was a Bauddha, Priyadarshin was a Jaina, and Khārvel followed Ājivika Sect (in the beginning), but there was no religious persecution during their reigns.

(54) The decline of the Mauryan Empire, which had reached its zenith during the time of Emperor Priyadarshin, was chiefly due to this religious persecution.

(55) This confusion prevailed between 236 B. C.—the year of the death of Priyadarshin—and 114 B. C.—the year of the end of Śiśunāga dynasty.

(56) This was the time of the invasion of foreign people like the Bactrians and the Parthians, and it was due to them that religious quarrels and consequent bloody warfare, prevailed at that time.

(57) Alexander the great had formerly invaded India, but he had not made up his mind to stay and establish himself in the land. The foreign invaders of this time began to settle themselves in India.

Proper Age for marriage, puberty and its time and the Physical dimensions of the men of that time.

We have enough evidence to prove that the people of ancient India upto about the end of the sixth century B. C., were superior to the people of modern India—both in physical proportions and in height. The standard of average height in India to-day is five feet and four inches—sometimes five feet and six inches[58]. We stand and stare at a man whose height is more than six feet and six inches, and we consider any man with five feet and seven to ten inches as a man having a good height[59]. This was not the notion of the people of Ancient India, when the average height was ten to eleven feet[60]. During the two centuries before sixth century B. C. it was not less than twelve to thirteen feet [61].

(This proves the fact that God Time exerts his influence even on the physical dimensions of our bodies. Is it not possible that as time passes on, we shall decrease and decrease in height and at last dwindle into insignificant pigmies ?). Because these people were tall, they required taller houses to live in; and the arrangement of joints, and reciprocal proportion of different limbs in the bodies of these people were stronger and superior to those in ours[62].

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(58) A glance at the registers of Insurance companies will convince any reader as to the truth of this statement.

(59) People having this height are selected for military services to-day.

(60) The height of Mahāvīra is said to have been seven cubits. A cubit measures a foot and a half. Mahāvīra's height, then, was ten feet and six inches.

(61) Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains lived between 777 B. C. to 877 B. C. His height was nine cubits or thirteen feet and six inches.

(62) Saṅghayanas or Articulation of joints are of six kinds, (i) Vajra-ṛsabha-nārācha saṅghayana (ii) ṛsabha-nārācha saṅghayana, (iii) Nārācha saṅghayana, (iv) Ardha-nārācha saṅghayana, (v) Kilikā, and (vi) Chhevathuṁ.

Meanings:—Vajra=nail, ṛsabha=covering; and Nārācha=two sides joined together. (1) Vajraṛṣabha-nārācha saṅghayana is that kind of body in which the joints of the bones are made, by putting the ends of the bones upon each other, covering them, and then nailing them tightly. (2) In ṛṣabha-nārācha-saṅghayana the joints are made by putting the ends of the bones together and covering them; but they are not nailed. (3) In Nārācha-saṅghayana, there are neither coverings nor nails. Only the ends of the bones are put together. (4)

As their bodies were built of stronger elements[63] they very early attained maturity from the sexual point of view and consequently married earlier than we do. Thirteen was the common age for marriage[64].

Thirteen was also the year of the attainment of majority for a person. It will not be difficult to find instances of persons of this age who successfully acted as governors of provinces[65] and even of those who bore the burden of vast empires[66] and thus made their names immortal by their unflinching devotion to duty.

In Ardha-nārācha saṅghayana, the end of the bone on one side (only) holds tightly the end of the other bone instead of both holding each other tightly. (5) In Kilikā, the ends of the bones are joined by one nail passing through both. (6) In Chhevaṭhuṁ, the bones cling together without the aid of nails. The joints in our body at present, are of the last type.

Santhāna (or Sansthān)—Reciprocal proportion of limbs in the body—are also of six kinds:—

(1) Sama-chatusra Sansthān, (2) Nyagrodha-parimandala Sansthān, (3) Ādi Sansthān, (4) Vāmana Sansthān, (5) Kubja Sansthān, (6) Huṇḍaka Sansthān.

Meanings:—(1) Sama-chatusra-square-Sansthān is that in which the body measures exactly hundred and eight fingers of the person and in which a perfect square is formed when the person squats on the ground. (2) Nyagrodha-parimandala Sansthān means that type of body, the formation of which is like that of a banyan tree i. e. that part of the body which is above the navel is fine-looking and well proportioned, and that part which is below the navel is thin and void of symmetry, (3) In Ādi Sansthān, it is exactly opposite to Nyagrodha-parimandala Sansthān. (4) In Vāmana Sansthān, the body is well-proportioned upto the abdomen, but is not so above. (5) In Kubja Sansthān, it is just the opposite of Vāmana Sansthān. (6) In Hundaka Sansthān, all the limbs of the body are out of proportion.

All the above six kinds of Saṅghayana and Sansthān are based on Jaina scriptures. The ascetics of ancient India could endure bitter cold, scorching heat, and heavy showers of rain, because their Saṅghayanas and Sansthānas were very much superior to ours.

(63) Elements forming the human body are ordinarily said to be seven; blood, flesh, bones, semen, skin etc.

(64) Gautama Buddha, Mahāvīra and king Śreṇika, all these married at the age of thirteen or fourteen.

(65) Aśoka became the governor of Avanti at the age of fourteen

(66) Emperor Priyadarshin, was crowned at the age of thirteen.

As a consequence of the people of that time being stronger and taller than the people of our time, the duration of human life too was longer than that of ours. In the sixth century B. C., an average human being did not die before hundred or hundred and ten. In the ninth century B. C. people lived even longer. Even though this was the ordinary duration of human life, instances of early death are not wanting[67] but these were exceptions and not the rule. We all know that as time has passed on, our lives have been shorter and shorter[68].

The duration of human life

On account of their simplicity and Nature's full bounty, means of livelihood were within the reach of all. People had not to toil night and day to keep their bodies and souls together. As a result, they occupied themselves with the thought of God and His marvellous creation. Religious preachers and preceptors did not find difficult to gather round them a large number of disciples because the general inclination of those people was towards a pious life. There are even instances when people have abandoned worldly life without the external aid of religious preaching[69].

Religious mindedness and Religious tolerance

Between ninth century B. C. and sixth century B. C., only two religions–the Vedic and the Jain–existed and held sway over the mind of the people. Any man belonging to any one of the four classes, followed a religion which appealed to him more strongly than the other. Of these two even, the Vedic religion was on the decline and the Brahmins had begun to make a speciality of it. At this stage was born Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddha religion, which, in many ways, resembles Jain religion. Generally people from all the four classes accepted Buddhism as

(67) According to Jaina Scriptures, a Jaina Ascetic named Mānaka died at the age of twelve. (450 B. C. or 77 years after Mahāvīra died.)

(68) Experts of to-day have fixed twenty-three years as the average duration of life in modern India.

(69) Such people were called "Svayam-buddha" i. e. people who acquire true knowledge without the aid of any preceptor. Those who begin to think about real things by fixing their attention on a single thing are called "Pratyeka-buddha."

their faith, but on a minuter examination, we realise, that a great majority consisted of the people belonging to Kshatriya and Vaishya classes only. It was only Jainism which represented very fairly all the four classes in good proportion. Not only many of the Shudras were Jains, but many of the disciples of Mahāvīra were Brahmins. Thus the sphere of influence of the Jain religion was wider than that of both the other religions.

Religious tolerance and openmindedness were the order of the day. People observing different faiths mixed freely with one another and even kings did not hesitate to run to the aid of the people who observed a faith other than their own[70].

It was not only kings who helped the people financially. From the people themselves sprung forth persons with philanthrophic inclinations. But their charitable activities were influenced neither by class distinctions nor by religious differences. The only idea which appealed to them was to render help to those who needed it. The main reason for such a state of affairs was the plenty of the means of livelihood.

Conjugal Relations

Ordinarily a man had only one wife, and vice versa; but a man could marry another woman in spite of his first wife being alive and in spite of his having children by her. Neither social rules nor religion prohibited this. Rich persons married many girls at the same time, and for kings a large number of wives was believed to be enhancing their royalty and prestige. Princes born of different queens were distinguished from one another by uniting the family name of their mothers with their own names[71].

Thus, while man had all freedom and facilities about marriage, women could not do as they liked even after becoming widows.

(70) King Ajātśatru was a Jain. He is said to have got a pandal built at his own expense for an assembly of the Buddhists.

(71) Gautamiputra so-and-so meant the son of a mother who came from Gautama family. Similarly, Vashishṭhaputra so-and-so meant that the person was the son of a woman who came from the Vashishṭha family. Hence the words Gautami-putra and Vashisṭha-putra are used to denote their matronymics but not patronymics. A man did not marry a girl belonging to his own family. As the son was known by the family name of his mother, there was a great difference between the names of the father and of the son.

Widow remarriages, if not wholly prohibited, were allowed as exceptions. Only among Shudras, widow-remarriages were allowed without any restrictions.

The Activities of Councils, Cabinets, Legislative Assemblies and Kings

At present the administration of a village is conducted by the village headman and the village council. Several such villages are grouped into a Taluka or a district which is under the jurisdiction of an officer called the Māmlatdār who manages affairs with the help of a staff and an office. Several districts are grouped together and is called a province which is placed under the supervision of an officer who is given the designation of the "Collector". Several such provinces are grouped together and placed under the searching eye of an officer called the "Commissioner." Over these all, we have Governors, Viceroys, and a Secretary of State for India, with their legislative assemblies and executive councils and Ministers for different departments. Such hierarchical official order though on a smaller scale, seems to have prevailed even in Ancient India. Titles and official designations of persons holding posts in the administrative departments are found in the literature of those times[72] though we do not know exact details about their powers and positions, duties and responsibilities. Nature and God Time smiled sweetly on those people, and so they did not bother with complicated official distinctions and definitions of the particular duties and powers of each officer. This does not mean that the people were intellectually inferior to us. (The reader is here referred to the paragraphs on Village Reconstruction, on ministers and councils and on the formation of guilds for the development of trade). Persons, whose intellectual powers were above the average and who were consequently respected in the society, had such responsibilities trust upon them, and they acquitted themselves worthily in their duties. A council of such persons was just like the Legislative Council or The House of Commons of to-day[73]. Moreover, on account of the

(72) Śreṣṭhin, Gṛhasthin, Bhāṇḍārik, Jeṭhaka, Rajjuka, Jānapada, Paurasabhā, etc., are the words used in Buddhistic books. "Bhāṇḍāriks were also trusted with the work of hearing quarrels and giving decisions thereon. (C. H. I. p. 206).

(73) "Buddhistic India" p. 96:—"Most of the handicrafts had their guilds;

federal system of Government prevailing at that time, kings were called "Jāgirdārs," and a representative assembly of such kings or jāgirdārs had the same functions as the House of Lords of to-day. The duties of the officers of those days might have been different from the duties of the officers of to-day, but the difference is of degree and not of kind.

One pecularity deserves notice here. The kings themselves often presided over the meetings of legislative and executive councils, and thus kept themselves in close touch with all administrative affairs. As stated before, they also took keen interest in the investigation of crimes and thus facilitated the arduous task of the police officers, by supplying them with valuable information gained during their night-stralls in the city streets in disguise. Thus they justified themselves in being called the fathers and protectors of their subjects.

Sources of Revenue and Taxes

Chāṇakya, the prime minister of Maurya Emperor Chandragupta, has compiled a monumental treatise on economics, holding the title of "Arthaśāstra." This treatise furnishes ample evidence to prove that attempts were made to increase the revenue of the state from various sources, and particularly from the soil. But the time with which we are concerned is two hundred years before Arthaśāstra came into existence, and thus it is difficult to say whether the same conditions prevailed during that time. The author has not come across any book or literature of those times, which would furnish this much-wanted information. Even under these circumstances we have enough reasons to believe that there were no taxes on the people except fines inflicted on persons who committed

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it was through these guilds that the king summoned the people on important occasions. The Aldermen or the Presidents of such guilds were important persons, wealthy and favourites at the court. The guilds were said to have powers of arbitration between the members of the guilds and their wives, and disputes between one guild and the other were under the jurisdiction of the Mahāsheṭhi, the Lord High Chancellor, who acted as a sort of chief Alderman over the Aldermen of the guilds," (See T. R. A. S. 1901, article by Mrs. R. Davis p. 863-868).

crimes[74]. State treasuries were always full to the brim, and it was seldom that the State had to incur and defray any extra-ordinary expenses. Even when such occasions arose, patriotic and rich citizens readily undertook to bear the burden, and thus save the ordinary and the poor from any extra taxation. People were happy, and financial crisis were very rare; consequently the State did not need to hoard money like a miser. In short, the administrative expense of the State was very low and the people were not harrassed with taxation for that. Nature was always merciful, and rainfall was regular and plentiful; famine were very rare. But from the time of king Śreṇika undesirable excess in rainfall and famines frequently visited the land, and from those times seems to have begun the custom of taxation. Even then, it is difficult to say how much time might have elapsed in establishing and regulating the custom. May be, two centuries might have elapsed and taxation might have begun from the time of Emperor Chandragupta.

As means of livelihood were ample, people did not bother to exploit the land fully; and they never had a keen desire to eat so many various things at a time. Rice was the staple food of the people and was grown everywhere in plenty on account of bountiful rainfall.

The statement that rice was the staple food of the people, should not lead any one to believe that farmers did not grow or did not know how to grow anything else. They did grow other corns, but India was not mainly an agricultural country as it is now. As the people of some of the western countries to-day grow enough corn to sustain them, and devote the rest of their time and energy to the development of industries and commerce, so also in ancient India people devoted much of their time to the exploitation of the mineral wealth of their country, and exporting those minerals, manufactured or raw, to the foreign countries, and thus earning

Method of Exchange and kinds of Wealth

(74) The statement of Herodotus that a certain amount of tribute was levied from Takśaśilā, a provinces of Gandhāra country, (vide CH. IV) certainly is about sixth century B. C., but this is not taxation by an Indian king on his subjects, this is a tribute levied by a foreign invader from an Indian king, as a fine.

wealth. Forest products and spices were in abundance and were also exported in ships to foreign countries and thus were a powerful source of income to the traders. We do not know how the people bought and sold commodities or what were the means of exchange. Bartering must have been common; and precious metals like gold and silver did exist in those times[75], and it is easy to guess that they might have been in use as a means of exchange, because both in Jaina, and Buddhistic literature and in descriptions of historians like Herodotus[76] we come across words like "Golden Dust." This method must have existed before the time of king Bimbisāra. As time went on, and God Time exerted His influence in limiting means of livelihood, thus necessitating the formation of guilds, we can imagine that coins of gold and silver[77] might have been made to make exchange easier. As there were no necessary mechanical appliances–which are in use in modern mints "punch-marked" coins must have been first made[78].

Language, Script and the art of Writing

When foreign trade was thus in full swing, some device to keep accounts and to know the whereabouts of one's mother-land while residing in foreign countries for trade purposes, must have been in use. Both language and script, in some form, must have existed. The letters of those times resemble more the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet; this script was known as "Brāhmi"[79] in eighth century B. C. and as "Māgadhi" after that. Of course, we do not know on what the script was written. The memory of the people of those times was very powerful and they were in the

(75) The reader is here referred to f. n. 11 in Chapter one.

(76) See f. n. 74 above.

(77) Cheaper coins made from copper, lead and other mixtures of metals, came into existence much later than the time of king Śreṇika.

(78) For further information on coins see vol. II. CH. II & III.

(79) We have reasons to believe that the sages who compiled Shrutis of the Vedic religion, came from the region around a lake named Hamāma in Afghanistan. This region was known as Śakasthān or the residence of the Śaka people in those times. Their language was "Brāhmi". The reader will understand from this that Hindus originally were residents of Śakasthān.

habit of committing things to memory[80] rather than writing them down[81]. Thus there was little need of writing and less thought of materials for writing. The inscriptions of those times lead one to believe that important events which deserved immortality were commemorated on rocks and pillars[82]. They, at the same time, prove that there was a language spoken and written by the people, and that they were not uncivilized or illiterate. They did not bother much about writing materials because, as explained above, they did not need them, and thus ink, paper etc., might not have existed in those times. But we need not believe that the people were illiterate.

There were sixteen different kingdoms in India in those times; and it is possible that each kingdom might have had a language of its own. But in the east was the country of Magadha which was a centre of religious activities and also the place where the greater part of the lives of the great religious preachers was spent. Consequently greater importance was attached to the language of this country and it was called "Māgadhī,"[83] from the name of the country of its origin. The learned men of to-day call it "Prākṛta". This language must have been in use, more or less, throughout India, because traders of this country travelled throughout India, in large groups and caravans. Kamboja was the name given to the region in the north of modern Afghanistan and the

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(80) The knowledge which is gained by hearing and remembering is called "Śruta Gnāna". Śrutis are so called because they were heard and committed to memory; their antiquity is proved by this.

In Jainism, too, such knowledge is called "Śruta" knowledge. Persons who acquired knowledge in this way were called "Śruta Kevali." Sthūlabhadraji, a contemporary of emperors Chandragupta and Bindusāra, was a "Śruta Kevali".

(81) The reader is here referred to a paragraph "Were the ancient people illiterate"–in chapter one of this book.

(82) Mānikyāl pillar–inscription in Gāndhāra and Kamboja is believed to have been erected in eighth century B. C. The inscriptions of emperor Priyadarshin are of fourth century B. C.

(83) The original scriptural books of Jainism and Buddhism are written in Prākṛta or Māgadhī.

language of that country was called Kharoṣṭhi[84]. This language resembles Prākṛta or Māgadhī language; but its chief peculiarities are seen on the rock inscriptions of Shāhjāngṛhī and Mañśerā by Emperor Priyadarshin. Though these inscriptions date from third century B. C. yet Pāṇini's grammar–which dates fifth century B. C.–furnishes rules about the language. This Pāṇini was a native of Gāndhāra, the modern Punjab. The countries of Gāndhāra and Kamboja were nothing but provinces of one mighty empire,[85] and were in close touch with each other, consequently influencing each other's language. This country later came into possession of the Bactrians and then was ruled by emperors like Demetrius and Menander and Kshtrapas like Bhūmaka and Nahapāṇa. They added many new words to the original language.

During this whole time Sanskṛt language, on which all these languages are based, was not much in use. Learned men might have been using it. It was revived by the famous commentator Patañjali in the times of the Śunga dynasty.

Was their any Era in existence?

When no body cared to bother about keeping accounts, it was even rarer to care for history or political records. As federal system of Government prevailed, no king was fired with an ambition for territorial expansion. We have given above details about the art of writing. Life was far from complicated and questions seldom arose for the solutions of which people had to approach the king. If an event was considered worth remembrance and if it was thought proper to remember its date,[86] it was united with an event which was happened in the lives of the great religious prophets.[87] From ninth to sixth century B. C. only two religions existed. Buddhism came into existence in the fifth century B. C. People began an

(84) This region is to be considered as the birthplace of any man speaking the Kharoṣṭhi language. This language was spoken in the region about the Hindukusha mountains and these people are known as yonas. This was also the birth place of Demetrius, Menander and Euthedemus.

(85) See Chapter IV.

(86) See f. n. 11, Chapter I, "The paragraph on land."

(87) Compare the paragraph, "Were the ancient Indians illiterate?" in Chapter I.

era with the death of such a prophet and dated events that way. This system was used by Jains and Buddhists only, and not by the followers of the Vedic religion because no king accepted that faith, except the kings of the Śunga dynasty, who have no rock inscriptions to their credit to furnish us with the proof of the existence of any Vedic Era. Instances are found of the Buddha Era being used in Buddhistic books; while many of the emperors were Jains and have many inscriptions[88] to their credit. In these inscriptions the era used is that which was begun with the Nīrvāṇa (going to heaven) of Lord Mahāvīra. No king was keenly desirious of making his name immortal through the initiation of an era' connected with his name. If an emperor thought any event worth the remembrance of posterity, he got the description of that event inscribed on a pillar or a rock, and in it was mentioned that the event took place so many years after the Nīrvāṇa of his religious Prophet. From this it becomes clear that kings and emperors thought that their religious preceptors were more worthy of remembrance than they themselves were[89]. Sometimes this devotion to religion and religious preceptors amounted to orthodoxy[90].

The indifference of the kings and emperors to posthumous fame about them continued as long as they had not come into contact with any foreign nations. Even in the coins, they never cared to get their names mentioned[91]. With the beginnings of the

(88) In the Sahasram-inscription of Emperor Priyadarshin the number of the year is 256; in Hāthigumphā—inscription of Emperor Khārvel the number of the year is 103. These two numbers refer to the era begun in the name of Mahāvīra because both the emperors were Jains.

(89) Due to this reason only, the kings got the religion-signs inscribed on their coins. To show more reverence to their religion, they got their family-sign inscribed on the reverse side of the coin, and the religion-sign on the obverse side of the coin.

(90) Devotion to religion, changes into despotic orthodoxy when general welfare of the people is disregarded for the sake of a religious belief,—or intolerance is shown towards people following any other religion. Persecution and repression are signs of orthodoxy. Emperor Priyadarshin illustrates reasonable devotion to religion, while emperors of the Śunga dynasty illustrate orthodoxy.

(91) See supra f. n. 89.

foreign invasions[92] and the subsequent contact with the foreigners, Indian kings and people began to adopt some of the customs of these foreign invaders. One of the customs, imitated by the kings, was to have their own likenesses inscribed on the coins, and the second was to begin eras connected with their names. Thus religious eras began to fade into insignificance and kingly eras began to prop up like mushrooms[93]. (Details about coins and eras are given in chapters specially devoted to them).

Messengers and Ambassadors

It is useless to think of a postal system of communication when letter-writing itself was non-existent. Oral messages were sent by people through caravans which travelled from place to place. Special political messages were sent by kings and ministers through a specially appointed set of people who were called "Dūtas". (Messengers). The present system of keeping ambassadors constantly in foreign countries did not prevail at that time. That custom seems to have begun in India after the Indian kings came into contact with the Persian and the Greek emperors.

Clothes and Ornaments

Variety in clothes was as much in fashion as it is to-day. Cotton and silken clothes of all colours, full of embroidery, were worn by the people. Clothes were worn according to a man's position in life. One peculiarity deserves notice here. If we look at the pictures of ancient kings and queens we shall notice that the upper part of their bodies is unclad[94]. We do not know the reason why they did so. Ornaments were also of various kinds. To-day the male-members of the society do not like to put on ornaments; in ancient

(92) The first foreign invasion was made by a Persian emperor in the 6th century B. C.; while another was made by Alexander in the 4th century B. C. The first foreign invador who settled in India was Euthedemus, the father of the Bactrian emperor Demetrius. But he had gone away to his own country after a short time, while Demetrius and Menander had settled for good in India.

(93) The first king who started an era in his own name was Vīra Vikramāditya Śakāri. Some learned historians believe that Mauryan Era existed before this Vikrama Era, but are there any proofs to justify the belief?

(94) See the pictures of Māyādevi's dreams and the pillar of king Ajātaśatru in the book entitled "Bhārahut stūpa", by Sir A. Cunningham.

India, even kings put on a number of ornaments to decorate their bodies. This might have been due to the immense wealth which they possessed, and for which there were not so many uses. Women put on more ornaments than men did. The shape of the ornaments was dependent on the social customs of the times. Ornaments were chiefly made of gold and silver.

Cremation Ceremonies

Common custom was to burn the dead bodies. We do not find any instances of bodies being buried. No information is forthcoming as to what was done with the ashes of a body already burnt. The *remains of great* religious prophets and preachers were preserved for a long time[95]. Specially their teeth, bones, hair or any other parts of the body which would not decompose for a long time, were preserved in stone or jewel boxes[96]. These boxes were preserved at the place where the bodies were burnt[97], or they were removed to some other place. Over these boxes were erected big edifices which became the centres of pilgrimage for the people.

Emperor Priyadarshin got commemoration structures built on the places where his kith and kin and his religious preceptors died. For details the reader is referred to the chapters on Priyadarshin, who lived in the 3rd century B. C.

General description

All the details given in this chapter are to be understood as describing the conditions prevailing in the 6th century B. C. The same conditions might have prevailed during the three hundred years before 6th century B. C., or they might have begun in 6th century B. C.[98] and might have developed fully later on. In short, 6th century B. C. is the centre from the view point of time.

If we compare all those details with the customs prevailing in modern India, we shall be able to see that the differences are of

(95) To have some idea about such remains the reader is referred to the chapters on Priyadarshin.

(96) See f. n. 95.

(97) The Sānchi stūpa furnishes instances of both kinds. For further information see the chapters on Emperor Priyadarshin.

(98) Modern history of India can be said to begin with the sixth century B. C. The time before that can be said to be the prehistoric age.

degree but not of kind, showing us that even with the passage of twenty five hundred years, fundamental conditions have not much changed.

Mr. Hornel once delivered a very interesting lecture from the presidential chair of the annual meeting of Royal Asiatic Society for Bengal. He said that Buddhism and Jainism were respectable rivals in ancient India; but in modern India, Buddhism has disappeared while Jainism has continued to prevail. The chief reason for this persistence of Jainism must be due to some inherent elements in the faith itself. Not only has Jainism continued to exist but its beliefs and rites are adaptable, even in our own time with very little changes. This persistence reflects creditably on the solid foundations of the faith.

All the social rules and regulations have their origin in the reign of king Śreṇika[99]. He had a proper and powerful helper in his son Abhayakumāra. King Śreṇika derived his name due to his formation of guilds because the word Śreṇika itself means the "builder of the guilds". His real name was Bimbisāra. He was inspired to form these guilds by the great Jaina prophet, Mahāvīra. He changed his faith from Buddhism to Jainism, only because he was impressed by the religious principles of Mahāvīra. For further information, the reader is referred to the chapters on Śreṇika. In short, all the social structures and customs originated with Mahāvīra who possessed the knowledge of Past, Present and Future,—that knowledge which is called "Kaivalya Gnāna" in Jainism. It is no wonder that a religion started by such a personality is bound to be everlasting[100].

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(99) History of India can be said to have begun with the reign of king Śreṇika (see f. n. 98).

(100) The author requests the reader not to think that the author has a partiality for Jainism. He is a worshipper of truth and truth only. Whatever has appealed to him as truth has appeared in these pages. At least Mr. Hornel had no reason to be partial towards Jainism.



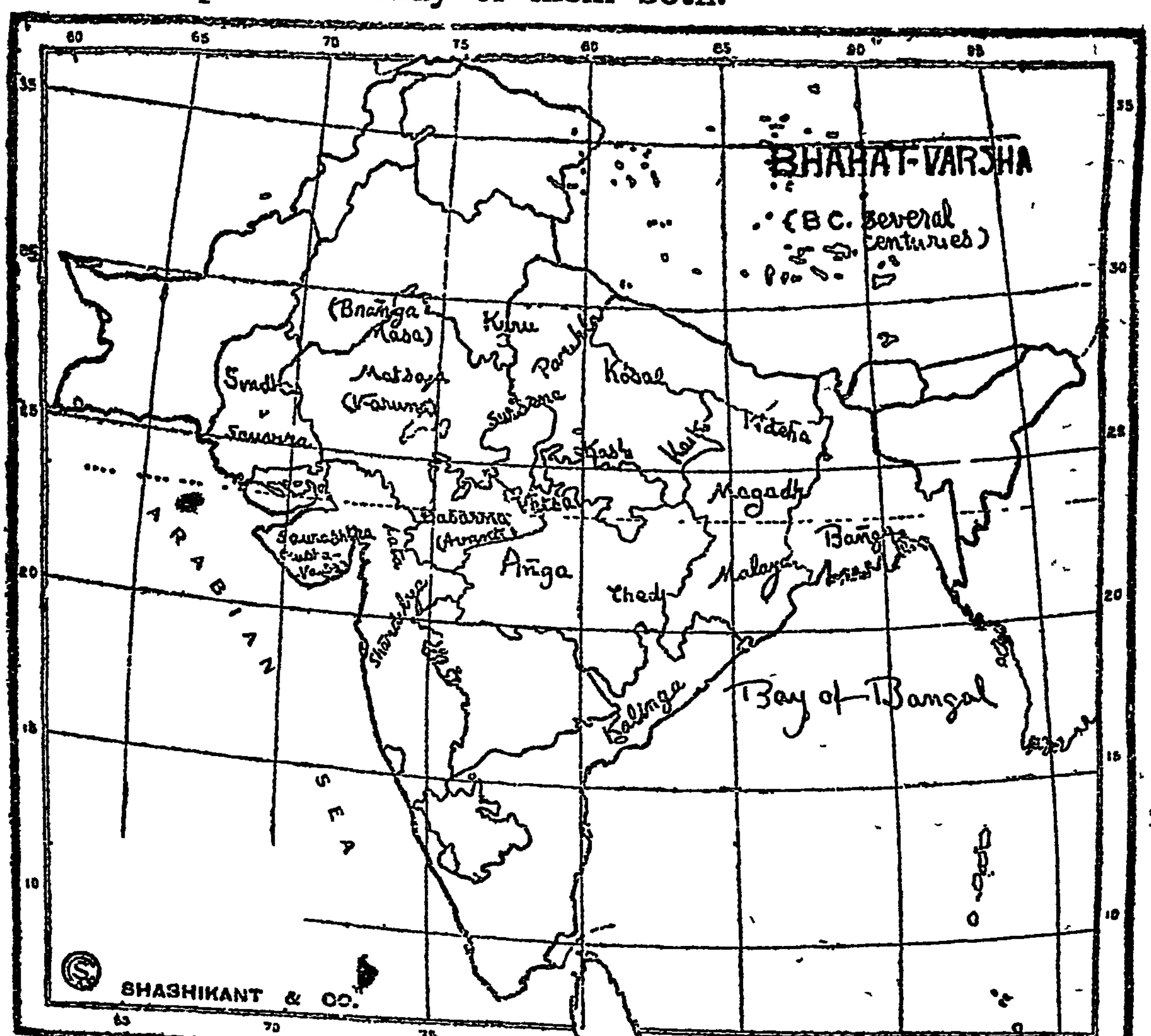
Chapter III

Geography of Ancient India

Synopsis:—A comparative study of the sixteen countries mentioned in Buddhistic books and twenty-five and a half countries mentioned in the Jaina books—A list of the names of the cities and villages of each country; short descriptive notes on each country—The famous Chinese traveller Huen Chang and his list of eighty countries in the seventh century A. D.—Seventy out of these eighty countries which were in India proper and information about them.

Countries of Ārya-varta (India)

We have seen in chapter one that Bhārata-varṣa was divided into two parts—Northern India and Southern India. The ranges of the Vindhyā mountain lie between them. Because the people of Northern India were more civilized than the people of Southern India, Northern India was named "Āryadesha or Āryāvarta" and Southern India was named "Dakshiṇā-patha or Anāryadesha." The scriptures of all religions assert that all great men were born in Northern India or "Āryadesha"[1] According to Jaina scriptures this "Āryāvarta" is said to have consisted of twenty-five and a half countries. It would require volumes to describe them all in detail and its reading too would be tiresome. So we shall try to describe them as briefly as possible. Some information will also be given of the countries mentioned in Buddhistic books; we shall also make a comparative study of them both.



(1) Such great men are given the name of "Śalākā Puruṣa" in Jaina Scriptures. They number in all 63, like this—(i) 24 Tirthankaras (ii) 12 Chakravartins or Sovereign Emperors, (iii) 9 Vāsudevas, (iv) 9 Prativāsudevas, (v) 9 Balabhadras (Nārāyanas or Rāmas) = 63.

(3) Jain Books	(2) Buddha Books	(4) Name of the Country	Name of the Capital	Number of towns	
				In very old times	Later
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	Magadha	Rājgṛhī	6600	6600
2	2	Añga(5)[1]	Champānagarī[2]	500	5000
3	3	Bañga	Tāmraliptī[3]	50 (A)	5000
4	4	Kalinga(6)	Kānchanpura[4]	100 (A)	1000
5	5	Kāśi	Vaṇārasī[5]	192	1920
6	6	Kośal[6]	Sāketpura	908	9080

(2-3) These numbers will make it easy to understand what different names were given to the same country in Buddha books and in Jaina books. For instance, in the Jaina list No. 8 is Kuśāvarta and No. 11 is Saurāṣṭra. The number for both in the Buddha list is, 11. So Saurāṣṭra was the name given in the Buddha books both to No. 8 and No. 11., of the Jaina books. Similarly in the Jaina list, No. 7 is Kurū, No. 9 is Pāñchāla, and No. 10 is Jañgala. The number for all these three in the Buddha list is No. 9. So Pāñchāla was the name given in the Buddha books to three countries of the Jaina books. Same is the case with No. 1 and No. 15 of the Jaina books. Both these are known as Magadha in the Buddha books.

(4) Andhra or Āndhra is not mentioned in this list. Two explanations can be forwarded:—(i) This list refers to Northern India, while Āndhra was in Southern India, and was considered uncivilized or only half-civilized. (ii) The name Āndhra might have come into existence after 6th century B. C. (?) The name Āndhra is mentioned in Mahābhārata. Might it not be that the name Āndhra might have been dropped by the people for some reasons for some centuries, and then again revived? These twenty-five names of the countries are so old that it is difficult to fix their boundaries. The author has tried his best to arrange them in order, but his decision is not to be taken as *final*.

(5) For the explanation of this read f. n. 3 and 4 and see the map also.

(6) Vide infra.

(A) Wherever this sign (A) occurs (it occurs nine times), the number of towns and villages is below hundred. The reader might wonder how could that be reasonable when the number of towns and villages elsewhere is more than

7	9	Kurū[7]	Gajapura[8]	87325	8730
8	11	Kuśāvarta[9]	Soripura[10]	4083	14080
9	9	Pānchāla	Kāmpilyapura	383	3830
10	9	Jañgala[11]	Ahichchhatra	145	1450
11	11	Saurāṣṭra[1-]	Dvārāvatī[13]	6805	6805
12	12	Videha[14]	Mithilā[15]	8 (A)	...
13	13	Vatsa	Kauśāmbī[16]	28 (A)	2800
14	25	Śāṇḍilya	Nandipura[17]	10 (A)	1000
15	1	Malaya[18]	Bhaddilapura[19]	700	7000
16	16	Matsya[22]	Vairāta[23]	80 (A)	8000
17	16	Varuṇa[21]	Uchchhapurī[20]	24 (A)	2400
18	18	Daśārṇa[24]	Mrtikāvatī[25]	1892	1892
19	19	(6) Chedi[26]	Śuktimatī[27]	6800	68000
20	20	Sindha-Sauvīra[28]	Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇa[29]	68500	68500

a thousand. The author assures the reader that they are true numbers and are fixed after a study of a lifetime. The reader might wonder how provinces with Mathurā, Pāvāpurī, Tāmraliptī, Vaṇārasī, Mithilā and Kauśāmbī, etc. which had cities with large populations, could have only a few villages and towns to boast of. Two explanations can be given for this : (i) A large number does not always denote more population. The population of villages was very meagre; and a thousand villages combined could not boast of as large population as a single large city like Kauśāmbī, Vaṇārasī, or Pāvāpurī. In short, a large number of villages in a province does not guarantee its superiority from the point of population or revenue over provinces having a smaller number of villages. (ii) A portion of a country might have been separated from the country proper, and constituted a different country with a different name, on account of its political significance, as has happened the case with the modern province of Delhi, which was originally a part of the Punjab. In short, the reader is requested to labour under no erroneous conception on account of the wide variety in the numbers of villages in provinces.

(7) For the description, vide no. 21 in the list of Map no. 2.

(8) See the description of No. 19 of the list, further.

Foot notes for the map on page 44

[1] See map No. 2; for the description of No. 41.

[2] See No. 1.

[3] See map No. 2, for the description of No. 45.

21	21	Sūrasena	Mathurā	68 (A)	6800
22	13	(6) Aṅga[30]	Pāvāpurī	36 (A)	3600
23	13	(6–7) Māsa	Pūrivattāh or Pūrivarta[31]	142	1420
24	24	Kuṇāla[32]	Sāvatthī or Śrāvastī	63053	6305
25	25	(8) Lāta[33]	Koṭīvarśa[34]	2103	2103
25½	—	Kaika[35] (Ketaka)	Śvetāmbikā	Half	
			Total	250535	252315

An estimate of the population of those times and its comparison with the modern times

Both in very old times and later, the number of towns and villages in the twenty-five and half countries of Āryāvarta was two hundred and fifty thousand. We also know that Southern India is smaller in area than Northern India, and is full of dense forests. Consequently it must have been very sparsely populated. So, the whole of ancient India must not have contained more than four hundred thousand villages. At present there are seven hundred and fifty

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[4] See the description of No. 50 (Map No 2).

[5] The Sanskrit name is Banāras. See the description of No. 29 of Map No. 2.

[6] See map No. 2; note on No. 51.

[7] Kurū means the country of the Kauravas.

[8] Gaja=Elephant; Pura=City. The other name is Hastipura or Hastināpura.

[9] Kuśāvarta=Kuśa+Āvarta. Kuśa=Grass, and Āvarta=covered with i. e. that country which is covered with grass. The regions around the Girnar mountain and the Gir forest itself are of this type. They are under the jurisdiction of the Junāgaḍha State at present.

(Mr. De, in his Ancient Geography of India, says that according to Mr. Todd, Kuśāvarta means Dwārkā. I think he is mistaken, because Kuśāvarta is just near the borders of the Vindhyā mountains).

[10] Śauripura=Śauri+Pura; "Shauri" seems to have been derived from "Chauri" and "Chauri is the abbreviation of "Chora"; so "Chorapura" or the modern "Chorvād" (which is 12 miles to the south-east of Junāgaḍha

thousand towns and villages. One reason of this great increase in the number of towns and villages might be the economic and financial break-down of a very large city which might have formerly been a very great business and manufacturing centre.

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and where was established the kingdom of Samudravijaya, the father of the twenty-second Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Nemināthа). Some scholars believe that this place is situated 47 miles from Agrā in an impenetrable forest. It is 12 miles from Śekohābāda, a station on the E. I. Ry.

[11] Jaṅgala (See map No. 2 the description of Nos. 69 and 70).

[12] Saurāṣṭra—See "Buddhiprakāsha" (a quarterly published by the Gujarāta Vernacular Society), No. 1. 1934. Pp. 48 to 55, for details regarding the area and the situation of this country.

No. 10 Śauripura was included in Saurāṣṭra. Vāsudeva, the father of Śree Kṛṣṇa, and Samudravijaya, the father of Śree Neminātha, and other eight brothers, (in all ten), are famous in history with the name "Dasha-dashārha" (all deserving ten). All these were the ornaments of the Yādava family. They had settled in Kathiawar from Mathurā.

[13] Dvārāvatī or Dvārāmatī; the original name is Kuśasthalī or Ānartapura. For further information vide p. 48 to 55 and 119 to 129 of Buddhiprakāsha mentioned above.

[14] Videha—(See map No. 2. description of No. 38) and f. n. No. (6).

[15] Mithilā is many times confused with Mathurā. Mathurā is the capital of Sūrasena country (see No. 21 in the list). Mithilā is the capital of Videha country. (See No. 14 in the list).

[16] Kauśāmbī—(Map No. 2. No. 31).

[17] Nandipura or Nāndera, the capital of the modern Rājpiplā State. Gurjar kshatriyas of the Daddā family ruled over this territory from 6th to 8th century A. D. The father of the famous Jaina monk Mallavādisuri, who had vanquished the famous Buddha monk Dharmottarkirti in religious discussion in the assembly hall of the Vallabhi State, was of this Daddā family. (Vide p. 45, of Jainadharma Prakāsha, Shrāvana number of the Vikrama year 1985, in the article containing information on Vardhamānpurī).

[18] Malaya—and

[19] Bhaddilapura.

It is written on page 12 of De's "Ancient Geography of India" that the country in which the Pārśvanātha mountain is situated was called Malla (according to Mr. Yule) i. e. the region around Hajāribāg and Mānbhūm; but according to Purāṇas or mythological books two countries bear this name, one

When people did not find means of livelihood in a city, they disintegrated and migrated to habitable areas of land and founded new towns and villages there. Dense forests of the former times became thinner and thinner due to famines. They were also

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in the east and one in the west. One of them contains the Malaya mountain which is in Chhotānāgpur (See above). The other is Bhaddilapura which is very near Rājgrhī, the capital of Magadha. So Mr. De's Malladesha might be the Malaya country and its capital might have been Bhaddilapura. If it is so, the regions of Singbhūm and Sambalpura, over and above Hajāribāg and Mānbhūm must be included in it.

[20–21] Map No. 2 No. 63.

[22] Matsya—It is consisted of the modern Śekhavatī province, and the western portion of the Alwar State. According to my belief, this kingdom stretched upto the west coast of the Arvalli ranges, and included in it the major portion of the Jodhapura State. Its capital was Virāṭanagara, where now stands the rock inscription of Bābhrā–Vairāta of Emperor Priyadarshin. Uttarādevī, the wife of Arjun's son Abhimanyu, was a princess of the king of this Vairāṭa. The Pāṇḍāvas hid themselves for a year in the ranges of Arvalli.

[23] See f. n. No. 22.

[24] Daśārṇa—I think this must be near Bhilsa (In Purātattva Vol. I p. 45., it is written that the eastern portion of the Avanti country was Vidiśā which at present is called Bhilsa and is in the Bhopāla State. This conclusion is supported by the story that Āryamahāgiriji lived with his brother Āryasuhastiji (the religious preceptor of Emperor Priyadarshin) in Avanti; but because he disobeyed him, he went to stay on the Gajendrapada mountain in Daśārṇa country, (Gaja=elephant, Gajendra=the best among the elephants or Airāvata; Gajendrapada=the mountain at the base or on the top of which is the foot–print of Airāvata, the best of the elephants. From this we understand that these places must have been near each other.

Hence we come to the conclusion that a large foot–print of the elephant must have been inscribed at the foot of the Gajendrapada mountain, just as a huge elephant is inscribed at the foot of the Jagauḍa and Dhauli mountains of the Kalinga country (see the paragraph on the inscription in the chapters on Emperor Priyadarshin).

[25] I am at a loss to make any definite statement about this city.

[25–27] Information about this is given in the chapter on Chedi dynasty.

[28–29] Sindh and Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇa—See further the paragraph on Sindhu-Sauvīra country.

destroyed by men by cutting trees[9]. Thus more land was made habitable, and new towns and villages were constructed on this new land. This is the secret of the rapid increase in the number of towns and villages.

Buddha books containing information about ancient India have been translated into English[10]. In those books, sixteen kingdoms are said to have existed in the time of Gautama Buddha[11]. The names of all the sixteen are not given. Only

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[30] Map No. 2 description of No. 32.

[31] No information is forthcoming about the situation of this. In R. W. W. Vol. I P. 179, we find a description of Pāriyātra. Compare it with this.

[32] I have not come across any region bearing this name, but the very name brings into my mind Kuṇāla, the son of the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka, and the father of Emperor Priyadarshin. He had become blind. We do not know what connection might, the account of his life, have with Śrāvasti.

[33] Lāṭa—Once the boundaries of this country were as follows,—Pālanpur in the north. Surat in the south, Godhrā in the east and Cambay in the west. From this we can know what territory was included in the Lāṭa country.

[34] Koṭivarśa—I cannot definitely locate it, but it might have modern Vaḍnagar or Cambay, because this place is famous from very old times.

[35] The name of this territory appears to be strange. The name of its capital, however, is Śwetāmbikā. If this is another name for Śwetāmbī, we can say that this territory might have been what is now called Behrech, through which flows the river Rapti, and near which Mahāvīra had to undergo the hardships inflicted on him by Sangamdev.

[36] Compare f. n. No. 35.

(9) Even at present, the tendency is to cut down forests and make the land open. That, famine increases and water decreases due to this, is accepted by the scientists of to-day.

(10) See, "Records of the Western World, Vo. I and II by Rev. S. Beal. These volumes are considered to be the translations of the descriptions of the famous Chinese traveller Huen Chang. See also "Buddhist India" by Prof. R. Davis, p. 23.

(11) Vide p. 29 of the "Early History of India" by Vincent Smith. 4th edition.

eight are described. Moreover, these descriptions do not have any political significance. Hence, we are at a loss to decide how much importance ought to be attached to them from the view point of history. Yet because these books are easily available at present, they deserve some attention here.

Information from Buddha books

All Buddhist books which contain information about ancient India are composed of descriptions written by various Chinese travellers in India. Some of these books have been, more or less, translated into English by scholars.

We should remember one thing here. We are here concerned with 5th and 6th century B. C. when Lord Buddha himself lived; while all these Chinese travellers had come to India almost after a thousand years or even later. Their descriptions may contain truth, and nothing but the whole truth, but they throw little light on the age with which we are here concerned. One instance will suffice to convince the reader as to the truth of the above statement. In these books, these travellers have stated that the number of independent kingdoms in India was eighty instead of the original sixteen. Of course, many of them were dependent and many of them were situated within the limits of the bigger kingdoms. If we enter into details and ignore such kingdoms of a later growth, we shall come to the conclusion that sixteen is the right number of kingdoms at the time of Buddha. All other names of kingdoms are of a later origin[12].

Thus sixteen was the original number of kingdoms in 6th. century B. C. They disintegrated and developed into eighty, chiefly due to two reasons:—(i) Sixteen is the number of kingdoms in Āryadesha or Northern India only; while in eighty kingdoms are

(12) Even these sixteen kingdoms faded into insignificance in the time of the emperors of the Maurya and the Śuṅga dynasties, when something like sovereign autocracy was established by these emperors throughout India. After that, Republican and Democratic states came into existence and many new states or kingdoms were established; and thus the number might have risen upto 80.

included the kingdoms of Southern India also. (ii) We have stated in Chapter one, that Kaliyuga was advancing day by day and God Time was exerting His baneful influence. Hence the tendency of the people was towards division and separation and not towards union[13]. Nature was gradually becoming less merciful, and famines were increasing in number; forests were destroyed; whole areas of land were becoming plain and barren; swarms of people were wandering here and there in search of the means of livelihood, and were establishing new kingdoms on these new lands. Thus the number of kingdoms might have increased, and the distinction between Ārya (civilised) portion and Anārya (uncivilized) portion was lost for ever.

Short notes on every kingdom

Out of these sixteen kingdoms, three were in every way superior to the remaining thirteen. They were (i) Kamboja–Rāṣṭra (ii) Sindh–Sauvīra and (iii) Magadha Rāṣṭra. The first two were greater in area than the third, which was more powerful than the first two, from both the political and religious points of view. The people of Magadha were more cultured and civilized than the people of the other two countries, because they had come into close contact with great religious prophets and preachers.

First, we shall briefly describe all the sixteen kingdoms. Then we shall show how they were brought under the sovereign authority of one vast empire, and how the federal system of Government was replaced by the unitary system of Government[14]. I shall here attempt to give, side by side, the names of all the eighty kingdoms[15] to give an idea to the reader how one ancient kingdom broke into so many smaller kingdoms, and also what names were given to the kingdoms of the 5th century A. D. in the 5th century B. C.

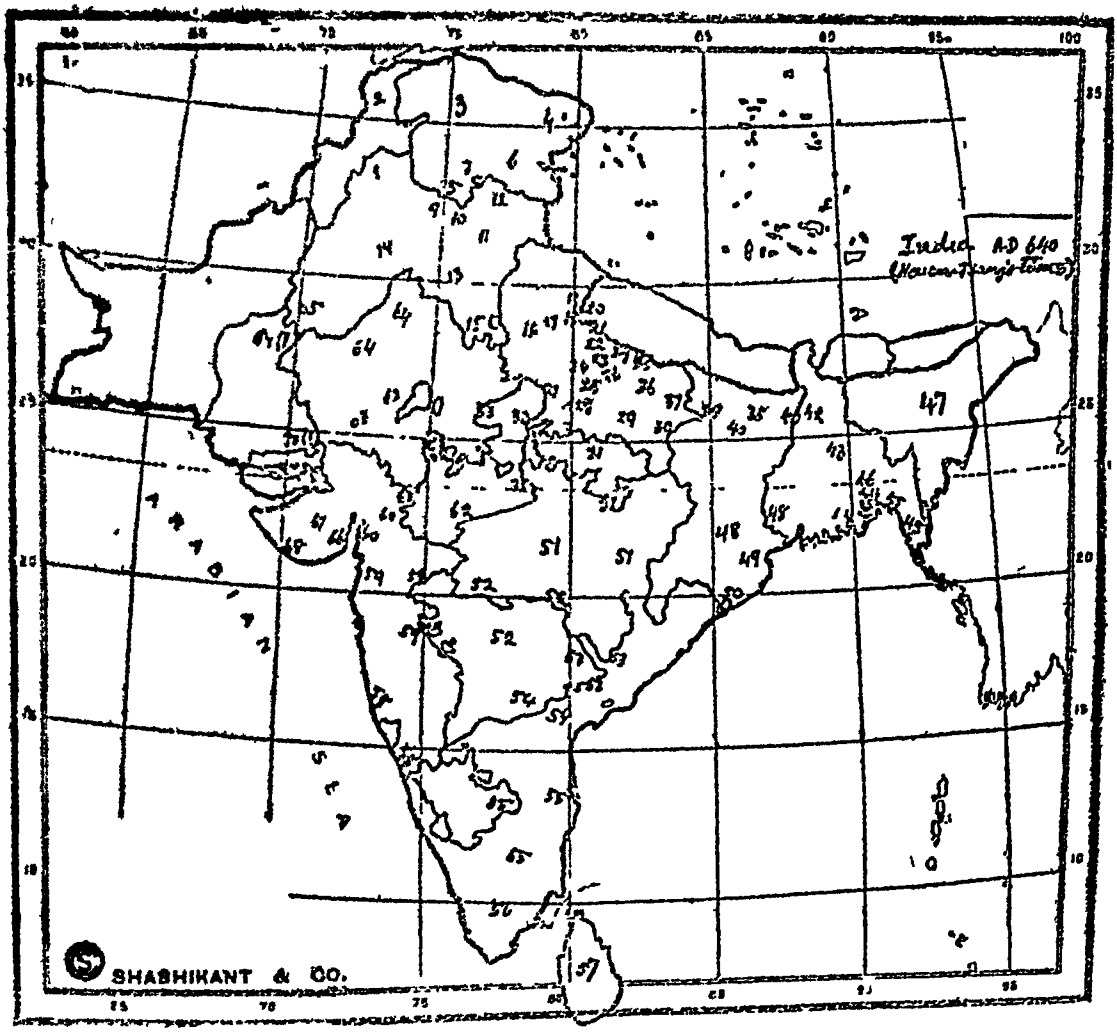
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(13) See f. n. 12.

(14) Decentralization.

(15) All these names are taken from Rev. S. Beal's "Records of the Western World".

1. Gāndhāra. (16)Takśaśilā[1], Udyān[2], Bolor[3], Simhapur[4], Uraṣa[5], Kāshmir[6],



(16) From here begins the footnotes on the map on this page.

[1] (Vol. I. P. 136 f. n. 43). This is to be understood as a village named Hasan Abdal which is eight miles in the north west of Shāhdari.

[2] (Vol. I. P. 119 f. n. (1). This is situated in the north of Peshawar on the bank of the river Swāt; but all the mountainous territory around Hindu-kusha and the Chitral country are included in it.

[3] (Vol. I. P. 135 f. n. (40). This includes Bālti and Bātistan (a part of Kāshmir.)

[4] (Vol. I. P. 143 f. n. (69) It is one of the following three places:- (i) Takī or Narsimha, (ii) Sangoli (iii) Ketakśa; Sir Cunningham favours the third place. Hu-en-Chāng had visited this place with Jaina pilgrims.

[5] This is the grassy reign called Zārā, between the rivers Sindhu and Zelum.

[6] Very large territory. Its old name was Kāshyap-pura (See Vol. I. page 248 f. n. 87). In it was a great river named Vatastā.

Punachha[7], Rājpurī[8], Ṭakka[9], Chhinpatī[10], Jālandhar[11], Kulut[12], Śatādru[13], Parvata[14] (vide No. 12), Pāriyātra[15].

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[7] (Vol. I. p. 163 f. n. (141). (Vide p. 128 of the geography by Sir Cunningham). According to him it is a small district. On the west is the river Zelum. On the north are the Pīrpañchāl ranges, on the south and south-east is the native state of Rajourī.

[8] (Vol. I. p. 163 f. n. (144). According to Sir Cunningham, it represents the native state of Rājāurī or Rājāpurī which is in the south of Kāshmir and in the south east of Punāch.

[9] (Vol. I. p. 166 f. n. (1). This is called the territoty of Bāhikā. It was a portion of the kingdom of the Gurjar people. Ṭakkas were powerful people and their residence was near the Chināb.

[10] (P. 173 f. n. (20). The territory between the rivers Rāvi and Satluj. Sir Cunningham asserts Chine or Chinigari to be its capital, which was nearly 11 miles from Amritsar. (Vide A. S. Vol. 14 p. 4).

[11] Needs no introduction.

[12] (P. 173 f. n. No. 31). The country of Kulu, situated in the north of the valley of the river Vyās. That territory is called Kāloot or Kolūka.

[13] According to Sir Cunningham, even Rev. Beal is inclined to call it "Red District." It is identified with the district named Ladāk. I am of the opinion that both of them are mistaken, because in the south of Kāloot is the river Satluj and its circumference is from 300 to 400 miles, while Ladāk is far in the north of Kāloot, and its area is two thousand miles. Secondly the word "Śatādru" suggests the river Satluj, while Laḍāk is situated far away.

[14] It is 700 Li. away in the north-east of Multān. I am of the opinion that it is the modern Montgomary district, the capital of, which is said to be 20 Li., in area. It might also be the town of Harappā, where research work is being conducted at present. So this region may possibly be Parvata (See Vol. II. p. 275 f. n. 87). Pāṇini has described Parvata as a part of that portion of the Punjab which contains Takśaśilā and other districts (I. A. Vol. I. p. 22).

[15] (Vol. I. p. 179 f. n. 45). It is 100 miles in the west of Mathurā. Rev. Beal suggests it to be "Vairāṭa". I differ from this opinion because in the original book (p. 178 it is stated to be 800 Li. away in the south-west

2. Pānchāla.	Mathurā, Sthāneshvara[16], Srughna[17], Matipura[18], Brahmapura[16], Govishan[20],

of Satādru, and thus it happens to be the south-west portion of the Hisār district. My statement is also supported by the fact that in the book it is described as a region rich in the crops of wheat and seeds, and we all know that towns like Bhatindā and Revāri in this region are very famous for wheat and seeds.

[16] 500 Li. In the north-east of Mathurā is the kingdom of Sthāneshvara (Vol. I. p. 183 f. n. 51). The region containing modern districts of Shāhjahānpura and Bareli in U. P. can be said to have constituted this kingdom. According to Sir Cunningham (his Geography of Ancient India P. 331) this kingdom was connected with the Pāndavas and hence is famous as a very old kingdom.

[17] It is 400 Li., in the north-east of No. 16. Its name is Sughna (Vide vol. I. p. 186 f. n. 64). Rev. Beal says that this region was near the Kālsi (because the Bauddha emperor Asoka has got a rock inscription erected) and Sīrpur States: but when it is definitely stated to be in the north-east of Sthāneshvara, it can be said to be the places called Pīmīnit and Kherī; but when we come to the description of its boundaries, the river Yamunā in the middle, and Matipura State in the south-west and when we take these things into consideration we come to the conclusion that this region must have comprised in itself the districts of Shahārānapur, Bijnor, and Muzfarnagar, which are in the north-west of Sthāneshvara and not in the north-east.

[18] The kingdom of Matipura (Vol. I. p. 190. f. n. 77) is in the east of Srughna (Vol. I. p. 190) According to Sir Cunningham (his A. G. I. p 341) this Matipura is none other but Mundor or Madāvara in the West Bundelkhanda. If it is so, this region consisted of the modern district of Murādābād, Rāmpur State, and a portion of Nainitāl.

[19] It is in the north of Matipura (p. 198) 300 Li. away According to Sir Cunningham (p. 198 f. n. 100) this region consisted of the present British Dhāriwāl. According to my opinion it also included in itself a portion of the Almorā district.

[20] The kingdom of Govishan is 400 Li. away from Brahmapura (p. 199). Sir Cunningham thinks that this Govishan should be none other than a small village named Ujjain, a mile in the east of Kāshipura, and near which is a very old fortress According to my opinion it consisted of the remaining portion of the district of Almorā.

6. Śrāvasti. Śrāvasti[34], Kapilvastu[35], Rāmnagram[36], Kushinagar[37].

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[34] (Vol. 2. P. 1. f. n. 1). Śrāvasti is in the province of Uttar Kośala, and it is also called Dharmapaṭṭaṇa. Sir Cunningham says that this was none other than the village of Sāhet-māhet, 58 miles in the north of Ayodhyā, and which lies in the ruins on the southern banks of the river Rāpti. Fa-he-Yāna-says that it was 64 miles in the north of Ayodhyā (Chapter 20).

[35] (Vol. 2. P. 13). Kapilvastu is 500 Li., away in the south-east of No. 34. (P. 14 f. n. 28) and it consisted of the region beginning with Faizābād and ending with the cofluence of the rivers Dhāgrā and Gaṇḍakā. (if this is true, this region consisted of the whole of the district of Bāsti, and a portion of Faizābād; while Mr. Carlyle thinks this place to be none else but the town of Bhūilā 25 miles in the north-east of Faizābād. (I am inclined to agree with him).

[36] Rāmnagar is 30 Li., away in the east of Kapilvastu (P. 25). See Mr. Dey's A. G. of Ind. P. 2 (Dr. Fuhrer and Cunningham) Rāmnagar is 24 miles west of Bareli. The name is at present confined to the great fortress in the lands of Ālampur Koṭ and Nasaratgunj. It was the capital of North Panchāl of Rohil Khanḍa." It is a barren region. (P. 36 f. n. 67). It is not definitely located. (A. G. Cunningham P. 420). (I think this region consisted of Gorakhapur and the forest of Champā).

[37] (P. 30). Kushinagara is in the north-east of Rāmanagar. It is a large fortress (P. 31 f. n. 85). Lord Buddha is said to have achieved his "Parinirvāṇa (going to heaven), here. It is said to be Kaisā, which is 35 miles in the east of Gorakhapura. I think north-east is a wrong direction; it should be south-east, because it is stated to be barren on pp. 32, while on p. 43, it is described as stretching through a large forest right upto Vaṇārasi 500 Li., in length; while on p. 31, it is written that the road between Rāmnagar and Kushinagar was barren, and full of wild animals and elephants, and infested with robbers and thieves. From this it becomes clear that Kushinagar was situated between Rāmnagar and Vaṇārasi. This belief is supported by a story from Jaina literature (Kalpa Sūtra Subodhikā p. 85). It is stated there, that on the way to Ayodhyā, is a large forest in which is the hermitage of the ascetic Kanakakhala, where Śree Mahāvīra had converted the Chaṇḍa-koshiā serpent to Jainism by his preaching. From this it becomes clear that Kushinagar must have consisted of the modern districts of Āzamgaḍha and Jānipura which are in the south-east (and not north-east) of Kapilvastu.

7. Vaiśālī.	Vaiśālī[38], Vriji[39].
8. Nepāl.	Nepāl.

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[38] (P. 66). Vaiśālī country is 140 or 150 Li., in the north-east of Gājipura, across the river Ganges. Its area is nearly 5000 Li. It is stated in (f. n. 67) that Hu-en-Chang once had crossed the river Ganges (it should be river Gaṇḍakā) and so the kingdom of Vaiśālī is said to be in the east of the river Gaṇḍakā. Sir Cunningham thinks it to be the modern village of Besar. The place, where even now is a standing ruined fortress named "Rājā Visalakāgadha," was its capital, or was the chief center of Vriji or Vajji people (for further information, see my article in "Jainadharma Prakāsha," Chaitra Number, 1985 (V. E.). These people settled here from the north and the territory occupied by them, stretched from the base of the mountain Himālaya to the Ganges in the south, and from the river Mahā in the east to the river Gaṇḍakā in the west. We do not know the time when these people settled here, but they might have come not later than the publication of these Bauddha books. They can be said to resemble the Vidyāls and the Yue-chi people, who were the authors of the Chinese books. (R. A. S. New series. Vol. 14 No. 2). I think all the above things are mere guess work, because if ever the Yue-chi people came in India, they at least did not come before the third century B. C. It is possible that Vidyāl might have been written for Videha, because Videha (Mithilā) is a part of Vaiśālī. (See below f. n. C.)

(C) We have to take these to be the modern districts of Mujfarpur, Saraṇa and Champāraṇa, in Bihar. Vaiśālī, was a kingdom in the 6th. century B. C. and Cheṭaka, the king of Vaiśālī, was called "Videhapati," and his sister Triślādevi was known as "Vaidehi" and her son Mahāvīra was called "Vaidehiputra" (See K. S. Com. p. 75. and further in this book). Sitā, the wife of Rāma, was also daughter of Janaka, the king of Videha, and so she is called "Vaidehi".

Dey's A. G. Ind. P. 104-"Boundaries of Videha; river Kaushiki (Kushi) in the north, river Gaṇḍakā in the west, Himalaya in the east, and the Ganges in the south".

[39] (f. n. 100. p. 77). This is the country of Vriji or Samvriji people. It is said to be a union of the eight kingdoms of the eight different kinds of Vriji or Vajji people. One of them were Licchchhavis and they stayed in Vaiśālī. They were republicans and were defeated by king Ajātaśatru.

9.	Magadha.	Magadha, Hiraṇyaparvata[40], Champā[41].
10.	Vaṅga.	Kājigṛha[42], Puṇḍravardhan[43], Samtaṭṭa[44], Tāmralipti[45], Karṇasuvarṇa[46].
11.	Kāmrupa.	Kāmrupa[47].

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[40] (P. 185). If we go eastwards from Magadha, we come to a large forest 200 Li., away from this forest is the region surrounded by Hiraṇya mountain (p. 186. f. n. 1). It is also called the mountain of gold, which, according to Sir Cunningham, is the hill of Monghir.

[41] Aṅga deśa is the name of the region containing the district of Bhāgalpur in Bengal where the river Ganges flows southwards after a bending because there is a town named Champāpuri. But the old Champānagar is different from this Champāpuri. (for which see further on, chapter V.) (R. W. W. Vol. II. p. 191 f. n. 15). The capital of Aṅgadeśa or Bhāgalpura district is Champā or Champāpuri. (Wilson Vishnu Purāṇa Vol. 2. p. 166; Vol. 4, p. 125; T. R. A. S. Vol. 5. p. 134; I. A. Vol. I. p. 175). Both Champānagar and Karṇagṛha are near Bhāgalpur.

[42] It is the territory about modern Rājshahi district (400 Li., away from Champā which is described on p. 193). From here we can go to Kajoogira or Kanjigṛha.

[43] (P. 194. f. n. 18). Prof. Wilson thinks that the old country of Puṇḍra consisted of the modern districts of Rājshahi, Dinājpur, Rangpur, Nādiā, Virbhoom, Berdwān, Midnāpur, Jaṅgadamahāl, Rāmgaḍha, Pachitpalman, and a portion of Chunār. (This does not agree with the description in the original book).

[44] (P. 199. f. n. 30). This province is on the sea-coast, and is Samotaṭa or Samataṭa (which means a country near sea, or a plain country) of Eastern Bengal.

[45] (P. 200). Tāmralipti is 100 Li., away in the west of Samataṭa. (f. n.36). It is the modern town of Tāmluk where there is the confluence of the rivers Hugli and Selai (J. R. A. S. Vol. V. p. 135; Vishnu Purāṇa Vol. II. p. 277; I. A. Vol. I. p. 177).

[46] Karṇasuvarṇa is 700 Li., in the north-west of Tāmralipti.

[47] This is the western portion of the present Assam.

12. **Kalinga.**	Urdra[48], ([15]) Konyoghra[49], Kalinga[50].
13. **Kuśasthala (Chedi).**	Kośala, Parvata[51]. (See the word "Gāndhāra").

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[48] (P. 204) Udradeśa is 700 Li., in the south-west of Karnasuvarna. (P. 204 f. n. 49). This Udra or Oḍa is nothing but Orissa, (Mahābhārata Canto II. 1174, III, 1188). Its second name is Utkula (Mahāvamsha A. 7. p. 122; Vishnu Purāṇa Vol. II p. 160).

[49] (P. 206). The country of Konjoddhā or Konyoghra is 1200 Li., in the south-west of Udra. We have to cross a large forest on the way.

(15) According to Mr. Fergusson, the capital of Kanyoghra was near Kaṭaka. (See W. World Pt. II. P. 207 f. n. 60).

[50] If we go in the south-west of Konyoghra, we come to a large forest. In it the trees are very tall and dense, and even the rays of the sun cannot penetrate through them. When we pass 1400 to 1500 Li., through such a forest, we come to the country of Kalinga. (This forest, must be none other than the region of the hills of Aśvatthāmā or Dhauli and Jagauḍa See f. n. A).

(A) Its boundaries: River Godāvarī in the south-west, Gaulyā in the north-west; for further information see Sewell Opt. cit. p. 19. (Kalingadeśa). 1 Li.,=1·7 mile and hence the capital of Kalinga must be in the neighbourhood of Vijayanagara.

[51] Kuśasthala—Some scholars call it Mahākośala but this is not the same Kośala, the capital of which is Ayodhyā. (R. W. W. Vol II. P. 209 f. n. 64). The other name of Ayodhyā or Śrāvastī is Kośala. This is different from that. (Wilson, Vishnu Purāṇa Vol. II. p. 172; I. A. Vol. II. p. 160. Vol. IV. P. 702). It is in the south-west of Orissa and in it flow the rivers which are at the mouth of the rivers Mahānadī and *Godāvarī*. From this it will be clear that there are two countries bearing the name of Kośala; in one of them are Śrāvastī and Ayodhyā; and the second is situated between the rivers Mahānadī and Godāvarī; while this description refers to altogether a different country. According to my opinion *Kuśasthala* consisted of the southern portion of the Revā State and eastern portion of Jabalpur. It is a hilly region. This was the region where Chandragupta was first made king by Chānakya, and then he invaded Magadha. This region stretched upto Kalinga in the south-east. (for further information see the Chapters on emperor Chandragupta.)

14.	Andhra.	Āndhra[52], Dhankaṭaka[53].
15.	Cholā.	Chulyā[54], (Cholā), Drāviḍa[55]
16.	Pānḍya.	Malkooṭa[56].
17.	Sinhala.	Sinhala[57].

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[52] (R. W. W. Vol. 2 p. 217). Āndhra deśa is 900 Li., away in the south of Kośala. Its area is nearly 3000 Li., (P. 217 f. n. 86). Its capital was Vigilā (Possibly an old name for Veṅgi), which is in the norh-west of the lake Elur, which is between the rivers Godāvarī and Kriśṇā. In its neighbourhood are the remains of stone-carved temples; but I differ from this opinion, because the distance between Kuśasthala and Āndhra is only 900 Li., and hence Āndhra at the most can include in itself the eastern portion of the modern Nizam State, and its capital can possibly be Chinur on the river Godāvarī, or Chandānagar near the Vaingaṅgā.

[53] R. W. W. Vol. 2. p. 221). If we go 1000 Li., in the south of Āndhra we come to a region named Dhankaṭaka. Its area is nearly 6000 Li., and the area of its capital is 40 Li. From this, I think that the region must have consisted of the area between the sources of the rivers Godāvarī and Kriśṇā, in which, Varaṅgul is in the north, Golkonḍā is in the west, Kārnul and Gonḍākamaniā rivers are in the south. Its capital must have stretched from Bezwāḍā to the lake Elur. The archeological experts of Madras have discovered some remains in the Gantur district, which resemble the Sānchi and Bhārhuta stupas (See Government communique dt. 30-12-29). This discovery supports the above statement. It is called Nāgārjun-konḍā. In Jaina books it is known as Bennātat-nagar. (See further the description of the Dankaṭaka country).

[54] R. W. W. Vol, II p. 227. The district of Cholā is 1000 Li., in the south-west of Āndhra. Its area is 2500 Li. I think it must have consisted of the modern districts of Belāri, Kadāppā, Anantpur, and Nelor.

[55] If we go in the south of Cholā (P. 228) we come to a dense forest. 1500 Li., from thence is the country of Drāviḍa. Its area is 6000 and its capital is Kānchivaram. It includes the districts of Chiṅgalpeṭ, both the districts of Arcot, Trichinopalli, and Sālem. On its south are the river Kāverī and Mysore State.

[56] (P. 230) Malkuṭa (scholars call it Pāndyā also) is 3000 Li., in the south of Drāviḍa. Its area is 5000 Li. If the direction is exactly south, it definitely suggests the kingdom of Pāndyā).

[57] The island of Ceylon,

18. Aparānta. Konkanpura[58].

19. Mahārāṣṭra. Māhāraṣṭra[59].

20. Lāṭa. Bhṛkachha[60]

21. Avanti. Mālvā[61], Ujjayinī[62].

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[58] In the north of Drāviḍ (P. 253) is a forest, in which are found innumerable deserted huts and other signs of former human habitation. 2000Li, from there is the country named Konkanpura. (These forests must be those which are near Chitaldurga and Shimogā.) Konkanpura might have included in itself that portion of the Bombay Presidency which is in the south of Belgaum, over and above these two districts).

[59] (P. 255) Mahārāstra is 2400 Li., in the north-west of Konkanpura. Its area is 5000 Li. Hence it is equal in area to Konkanpura, but smaller than Drāviḍ and Dhankataka. The area of its capital is 30 Li., and is on the western bank of a large river. Scholars have 'come to different conclusions about this, (St. Martin thinks it to be Devgiri or Doltābād, Sir Cunningham thinks it to be Kalyāṇa; Mr. Fergusson thinks it to be Tokā, Kulathambā, or Paiṭhan). I think it to be Junner. If we take this to be the boundary of Mahārāstra, the country would then consist of the area between the river Tāpti in the north and river Kriśṇā in the south; the region which is in a parallel straight line to Belgaum and Sāvantvāḍi; besides, it can be said to include all the area between Paravaṇī in the north and Hddrabad in the east upto Belgaum in the south.

[60] If we go 1000 Li., in the south of Mahārāstra (P. 259) and cross the river Narmadā, I stated therein (f. n. 59) the limit of Mahārāṣtra to be upto the river Tāpti, now this limit is to be taken upto the Narmadā). We come to the district of Bhṛgucachchha. (Its other name is Bārigazā or Broach). Its area is nearly 2400 Li.

[61–62] We have two names; Mālvā and Ujjain, so I take them together. I believe that the author might have included Udepur, Pratāpgaḍh, Rutlām, Dhār, Indore, Nimach, Bundi, and Kotā in the first, and the region between the rivers Chambal and Narmadā in the second, on the north of which is Jāorā, and on the south of which is Maṇdsor,

22.	Matsya.	Aṭali[63], (16) Gujjar[64] Mūlsthānpura[65].
23.	Cutch.	Cutch.

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[63] (P. 264) In the south-west of Mālvā there is a gulf (possibly the gulf of Cutch see p. 64. f. n. 66) 2400 Li.; from this (the direction is not given) is the region of Aṭali (R. W. W. Vol. I. p. 265 f. n. 67). Aṭali is very far in the north of Karāchi. It might possibly be the region of Uchha or Bhāwalpura, but in the neighbourhood of Multān is a town named Aṭāri. (Uccha is the name of a country and its capital might be Uchhāpuri: from this I conjecture that Varuna, the capital of which is Ucchāpuri, might be none other than this Uccha or Aṭali desha). Looking to its connection with the country of Matsya, Sir Cunningham's suggestion that Ucchā is the other name for Bhāwalpur, seems reasonable. (To my mind, the boundaries of Aṭali might be arranged thus. Aravalli mountain in the east, Sindh in the west, latitude No. 6 in the north, and the line between Ābu and Pālanpur of the Bombay Presidency in the south).

(16) From this it will become clear that the country of Gujjara was included in the country of Matsya; while scholars of the present believe that it was included in the country of Niṣadha, or the modern Gwalior and Zansi. They assert it to be the origin of the Gurjur people. I leave it to the reader's sense of judgment to find out what is true.

[64] (P. 269). Gurjar desha is 1800 Li., from Vallabhidesha in the north. (Everything would be alright if we put the word Aṭali in place of the word Vallabhi). Here the author has referred the reader to f. n. 80 on p. 269. Looking to the languages which are spoken in modern Rājputānā and southern Mālvā, we come to the conclusion that the word Gurjar can appropriately be applied to them. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar thinks it to be Kurkurdesha. (I agree with Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar. Some scholars consider Kurkur to be a part of Saurāṣṭra, while really speaking Kurkura consisted of the southern portion of the Jodhpur State). Bhinnamāla, famous in Jaina books, was the capital of Gurjardesha. So Gurjardesha must have consisted of the modern Jesalmir and a great portion of the Jodhpur State.

[65] If we go 900 Li., to the east of Sindh (P. 274) and cross the river Indus and go further in the east, we come to Mūlsthānpur State. Its area was 4000 Li., and the area of its capital was 30 Li., (f. n. 85). Mūlsthānpur is none else but Multān. (See Reymond Memories S. L. Inde. Vol. 98). It can be said to have consisted of the modern districts of Muzfargaḍh and Multān.

24. Surāṣṭra. Vallabhi[66], Ānandpura[67], Surāṣṭra[68].

25. Sindh-Sauvīra. Sindh. (Atyanvekala[69]) Laṅgala ?.[70].

All these names (names of countries as well as their capitals,) are taken from "Records of the Western World" Vol. I and II and the numbers of the pages are of that book. Wherever any other book is consulted, it is specifically mentioned. (To make everything clear, numbers are printed on the map).

This is the information furnished by Rev. Beal's book. Readers who are not interested in these details, may skip over the footnotes.

[66-67-68] (P. 266 f. n. 71) That region which is stated to be the kingdom of Vallabhi by Hu-en-Chang, can be defined as "the country of the Lāṭa people residing in the north." It is given on p. 266 that Vallabhipur is 1000 Li., in the north of Cutch. (South is the right word, because on p. 268, while showing the boundaries of Ānandpur, it is stated that Ānandpur is 700 Li., in the north-west of Vallabhi, and, moreover, Saurāṣṭra is 500 Li., in the west of Vallabhi). (P. 66 f. n. 71). The author's words themselves support my belief. The following modern states can be said to have been included in this country.

(A) In Vallabhi :- Gohilvāḍ, Bābariavāḍ, und a portion of Kāṭhiāwār.

(B) In Ānandpur :- a portion of Kāṭhiāwār, and the whole of Zālāwāḍ.

(C) In Saurāṣṭra :- the remaining portion of Kāṭhiāwār.

In short, the present peninsula of Kāṭhiāwār contained all these three kingdoms (Vallabhi, Ānandpur and Saurāṣṭra).

[69-70] Looking to the description of these two provinces, they can be located in the north-west of Sindh. They have no scope in this book, hence I do not think it proper to describe them. As for Laṅgala, Sir Cunningham thinks (see R. W. W. Vol. II. p. 277. f. n. 89) that it is a city named Lokoriyan or Lākurā, which was believed by Mr. Mason (see A. G. of Ind. P. 311) to be a ruined city situated between Khojdār and Kilāt, 200 Li., in the north-west of Koṭesar. If we take the above statement to be true, this region must be taken to be the southern territory of the Sauvīra country. I think it must have been a part of Pāñchāl, because the name of its capital is Ahikshetra, which is said to be Rāmnagar in the United Provinces.

(17) Does it mean that Bauddha books wanted to express that there were sixteen kingdoms in Northern India only?

The following countries are Anārya or uncivilised:—

No. 8 Nepāl, No. 11 Kāmrupa, No. 14 Āndhra, No. 15 Cholā, No. 16 Pāndya, No. 17 Sinhala, No. 18 Aparānta, and No. 19 Mahārāṣṭra. It is possible that Bauddha books did not mention them because they were Anārya or uncivilised countries, and because they wanted to describe only Ārya or civilized countries. Hence the twenty-five and a half countries are reduced to sixteen in the Bauddha books. In both the series of names, they sometimes differ, but from the view point of both, the total number comes to sixteen by a peculiar coincidence.



Chapter IV.

An account of all the sixteen kingdoms

Synopsis:—*(1) KAMBOJA-GĀNDHĀRA–area and its rulers. Accidental death of the king of Gāndhāra at the time when he was on the point of achieving friendly relations with the king of Magadha—the failure of the Persian Emperor to invade India in spite of his valour, and the fulfilment of the desire of the Persian Emperor Cyrus after his death—Consequence of the invasion—a great amount of wealth taken away to Persia.*

(2) Pāñchāla—short account—

(3) Kośala—different names of this country, places, dynasty of the ruler and the name of his kingdom; confusion about all the above due to different writers giving different names and the author's answers and explanations about them, item by item—similarity shown between the two names of Prasenjit given in the Jaina books (Pradeśi) and in the Bauddha books (Pasādi) wars between the kings of Kośala and Magadha on account of family pride, and subsequent marriages—names of other kings besides Prasenjit and fixing of their years of rule, after much correction; the destruction by Prasenjit's son Viruddhaka, of his relations on the mother side—Śākyas—and their land, after coming to the throne, for their decitful conduct, and the sorrow

caused to Gautama Buddha on hearing this, in the last years of his life—Conclusion.

(4) Kāśi—The end of the Bṛhadratha kings described in Mahābhārata, and Aśvasena, the father of the twenty-third Tīrthankara of the Jains, Śree Pārśva, who was the last and the best in their line—The kingdom was conquered by a kshatriya prince named Śiśunāga, and the account of the Śiśunāga dynasty established by him—Invitation to him from Magadha to take up the reins of that country—Union of Kāśi and Magadha—The names and short accounts of the four kings after him.

* * *

In writing the accounts of these sixteen kingdoms,[1] I have adopted the following plan:—the accounts of those countries, information about which is not sequential and well-arranged, but broken and hap-hazard, are given first:—the accounts of those countries, information about which is linked and full, are given afterwards.

(1) KAṂBOJA-GĀNDHĀRA

Out of the sixteen kingdoms as stated in Chapter III, three were considered to be empires because of the vastness of their areas. One of these three, was Gāndhāra or Kaṃboja.

Boundaries, Capital, and Language

It was in the north-west corner of India. It consisted of the present Kāśmir, some portion in its north-west, Chitrāl Province, a great part of Afghānistān, and almost the whole of the Punjāb. It would be true to say that river Sutlaj formed its boundary-line on the east and on the south. Its capital was Takśilā (Takśaśilā)[2]. The name of the emperor of that time was Pulusāki. This kingdom was divided into two equal parts on account of the river Indus

(1) "Early History of India" by Vincent Smith. 4th. ed. p. 29. "Sixteen States in Northern India."

(2) See appendix No. 2. Pt. III Ch. vi for full information.

flowing across it north to south. The western portion was called Kamboja, and the eastern was called Gāndhāra. Kharoṣṭī was the language spoken in Kamboja, and Brāhmī was the language spoken in Gāndhāra (for the comparison of these two languages see the chapter on Kśatrapas). Though thus two different languages were spoken, yet the people of both the parts came into close contact with each other. Consequently the languages were often mixed. This was specially the condition in the region where Kamboja and Gāndhāra had a common boundary line[3].

Takśaśilā was the capital of the whole kingdom as well as of Gāndhāra, but the capital of Kamboja was Puṣpapur or Puṣkalāvatī, the modern Peśāvara.

Ruler

Pulusāki was a lover of peace. The kingdom was prosperous during his reign. We do not know anything either about his ancestors or about his descendents. Whatever information is forthcoming, is only about himself. He was a pious king. He had friendly relations with the king of Magadha, Śreṇika by name and both of them exchanged presents. This friendship had resulted into close intimacy. Pulusāki once desired to see Śreṇika personally, and to fall at the feet of the two great prophets, Mahāvīra and Buddha, who resided in Magadha. He had already begun his journey towards east, but no sooner did he enter the kingdom of Magadha, than he unfortunately fell seriously ill and died. (about 550 B. C.).

We cannot say definitely who succeeded him. It is possible that the eastern portion of the kingdom must have been absorbed by the neighbouring small states; while the western portion was chiefly under the sway of Emperor Cyrus[4]. This powerful emperor

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(3) We see this specially illustrated in the rock inscriptions of Shāhbāzgṛhī and Manśerā, and also in the grammar of Pāṇini, in which, over and above the Prakṛt words due to this reason only, the words of the Kharoṣṭī language have entered.

(4) (A) C. H. I. P. 533.
Cambacys (first).
Cyrus 558 B. C. to 530=28.

had often heard about the wealth and prosperity of India, and he was only waiting for an opportunity to find an opening. The death of Pulusāki made his way clear and he began gradually to annex the neighbouring portion of this kingdom, and began to drag away vast amounts of wealth from India, as a tribute. The sway of Cyrus must have extended upto Kābul, but Darius, who succeeded him on the throne, had annexed even the Punjāb[5] to

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Cambacys (second) 530 B. C. to 522=8.
Smardis (Imposter on the throne) 522 to 521=1.
Darius 521 to 480=42.
His authority was established in the Punjāb in 518 B. C.

(B) E. H. I. 3rd. ed. p. 12.
Hystāspis (first).
Darius 486 B. C.
Hystāspis (second).
(Comparing these two, we see that Cambasys II in A is Hystāspis I in (B).

The names given in "Iran" by Mr. W. S. W. Walks, M. A., F. R. S. agree with the names given in C. H. I.

(5) The empire of Darius was divided into many provinces; Over each province was appointed a governor who was called "Satarap". The number of the governor of this province was twentieth. He had to send a great amount of gold dust as the early tribute to the emperor. All these things are described in the histories of Persia. The reader will get an idea of the amount of tribute paid by the following details.

"Bhāratvarshakā samkshipta Itihāsa" p. 196. "It amounted to 15 to 20 million rupees in the present money."

C. H. I. P. 335, "The Punjāb was a part of the realm of the king Darius about B. C. 518."

E. H. I. 4th. ed. P. 40.– "(The Indian Satarapy). It paid the enormous tribute of 360 Eubonic talents of gold–dust of 185 hundred weights worth fully a million sterling and constituting about one–third of the total bullion revenue of the Asitatic provinces. The conquered province was considered the richest and most populous province of the empire."

The same author adds a f. n. (No. 1) .– "One Eubonic Talent=57.6 lbs. avoirdu–pois. Therefore 360 Talents are equal to 20 736 lbs. Assuming silver to be worth five shillings an ounce=¼ £. or £. 4 per 1lb, and the ratio of silver to gold to be as 13 to 1, would be worth £. 1'078,272; if the Eubonic Talent be taken as equivalent to 78 & not 70, the 360 of gold will be 4680

the Persian Empire[6]. His authority had been established to such an extent that one of the twenty governors (Satraps) who conducted the administration of his empire, was called the Governor of Gāndhāra, which was the twentieth district of his empire.

It appears that the Persian sway in India lasted for nearly three quarters of a century. After that, either due to the decline of the power of the Persian rulers, or due to the increasing power of the Nanda emperors of Magadha, this Indian province[7] came under the sway of the Indian emperor, and experienced many ups and downs under the sway of the different kings of Magadha belonging to different dynasties. For a decade or two it was run over by the generals of Alexānder the Great. Then for a century it was under Indian emperors. After that, again it was won over by yavana generals who settled permanently in India and became Indians.

Thus the Punjāb had to serve under many masters.

(2) PAÑCHAL

This kingdom seems to have been divided into two parts: North Pāñchāl, and South Pāñchāl. Both had their own capitals. Mathurā was the capital of North Pāñchāl, and Kapila (Kāmpilapura) which was near modern Kanoja, was the capital of South Pāñchāl. Some scholars are of the opinion that the boundaries of Pāñchāl stretched very far in the north-west. The boundary might have

talents of silver; the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces (including a small part of Lybiā in Africā) was 14560 silver talents. (Cunningham. coins of Ant. India pp. 12, 14, 26 p. 30). (The author's note — Here the ratio taken is a bullion ratio, i. e. 1£ of gold=20 s. or 20 pieces of silver, and the price is estimated that way. At present in India, 100 Tolās of silver are worth about Rs. 50/- & hence 2 Tolās for a rupee, while 1 Tolā of gold is worth Rs. 34; so the ratio between the prices of gold and silver is 34 x 2=68 1 Cf against 13 : as counted above. So, looking to the present prices of gold and silver it would amount to £5661000).

(6) See f. n. No. 5.

(7) This is to be understood to be the modern Punjāb. Even now it is thickly populated, but it is inferior to several provinces of India from the view point of prosperity. (This account is in connection with the Persian Empire only).

been different at different times, but that must have been in very very old times with which we are not concerned from the view-point of our history. So we shall let it go. The "Records of the Western World" is a systematic and reliable account of these kingdoms, and I have based my account of Pāñchāl on it.

It is said to have consisted of all the countries from Mathurā to Kānyakubja. All these names appear to be the names of large cities instead of countries. For my opinion about these, I request the reader to read f. n. No. 6(A) in chapter III of this volume.

No further historic information is forthcoming about this kingdom. Later on, this kingdom was annexed to Kośala.

(3) KOŚALA[8]

The third name in our list is Kośala. Its capital is said to be Ayodhyā. Prasenjit[9] was the king of this country in 6th century B. C.

Some historians divide this country into two parts—North Kośala and South Kośala or Mahā Kośala. The area of North Kośala was surely smaller than the area of South Kośala, and hence South Kośala was called Mahākośala The supposition, that North Kośala and South Kośala were two divisions of one and the same country and kingdom, is unbelievable, because these two Kośalas have no common boundary line. Between them are the great provinces of Kāśī and Vatsa[10]. Had they been divisions of the same kingdom, they ought to have been situated near each other[11].

Its situation and the confusion about it

But they are not near each other. The mistake of the scholars can be explained as follows:-

Prasenjit was the name of the king of Kośala; and on one of the four main doors in the artistic Bhārhut-Stūpa in the

(8) The provinces named Hayamukha and Vaiśākha, described in R. W. W. were included in this province.

(9) He was also calld Pasādi and Pradeśi. See further in this volume.

(10) See Map No. 1.

(11) There are instances of the same ruling power, over places distant from one another. For instance, the Amareli and the Okhā districts in Kāthiāwār under the Barodā State.

Mahākośala province[12] there is an inscribed picture illustrating an incident in the life of Prasenjit. (see picture No. 7). This is famous as "Prasenjit–pillar in historical books (see picture No. 8). Scholars must have conjectured that this Prasenjit is the same invidual as Prasenjit of Kośala, because the same name occurs in both the provinces, and that he can be called king of both the provinces. Thus these two provinces are supposed by them to be under the power of one king, and then they are given different names, because of the difference in their areas[13]. The

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(12) Kuśasthala was the name given to this province in very old times. I will state reasons why this name was given in the description of that province.

(13) I myself was at first confused and mistaken about this. It would be rather interesting to let the reader know, how I corrected my mistake. I add it as f. n. because it is not proper to give it a place in the text proper :

Two kings named Prasenjit have come to the throne of Kośala; one of them was he, with whom we are now concerned, and the other was the father-in-law of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. The first Prasenjit lived in 550 B. C., and the second lived in 800 B. C. (more information about him is given in the description of Kuśasthala.)

The pillar erected by Prasenjit is a part of the Bhārhut–stūpa (see plate No. 13 in General Cunningham's Bhārhut–stūpa). This place was situated in Kuśasthala in Aṅgadeśa in olden times. Hence the question naturally arose : which of the two Prasenjits is responsible for the pillars? whether he was the one who lived in 550 B. C. and who can be called the king of Ayodhyā or Kośala, or whether he was the one, who lived in 800 B. C. and was the king of Kuśasthala (which was once called Mahākośala, but was called Aṅgadeśa at the time with which we are concerned, and the capital of which was Champānagarī?; and who can truly be called the king of the territory in which is situated the Bhārhut–stūpa?.)

Both the Prasenjits can be called "Kośala–pati" (king of Kośala); but the first (who lived in 550 B. C.) can be called "Kośala–pati" only; while the second can also be called "Mahākośala–pati" or "Kuśasthala–pati". (This is one of the reasons for distinguishing Kośala from Mahākośala). The first can have no connection with the territory in which Bhārhut–stūpa is situated, while the second was the ruler of that territory. My interest in the question was thereby keenly excited.

To solve the question, my mind was directed towards fixing the date of Bhārhut–stūpa. I made a minute study of all the scenes incribed in it. One

question whether both these provinces were under the power of the same king or not, will be discussed in the account of the

of them attracted my eyes [1]. It reminded of the time when Śree Pārśvanātha acquired Kaivalyagnāna (the power to know everything about past, present and future). He was standing in deep meditation[2] on the edge of a well. At that time a god named Meghamāli, who was his enemy in the former birth, caused a heavy shower of rain in order to disturb him in his meditation. Pārśvanātha did not allow himself to be disturbed even when the water reached his nostrils. At last god Dharaṇendra[3] lifted up Pārśvanātha from the ground in order to save Him from drowning, and spread his hood over His head in order to protect Him from rainfall. Meghamāli was ashamed of his action and stopped the rainfall. I thought, the scene which attracted my eyes was inscribed to illustrate the above story, and I came to the conclusion that Bhārhut-stūpa must have been erected in the time of that Prasenjit, who was the father-in-law of Pārśvanātha. But when I consulted the Jaina books about the place where Pārśvanātha acquired Kaivalyagnāna, I came to know that it was very near Vaṇārasī (the modern Benāres). Naturally I began to believe that that scene did not illustrate the above story and so does not represent the time of the second Prasenjit, because such edicts were usually erected at places where such events took place, (one who lived in 800 B. C.) I now decided to find out the real time of the erection of Bhārhut-stūpa, and I turned to the rock-edicts of king Priyadarshin. My study of Jaina books helped me here. Twenty of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the Jains have attained salvation on mount Sametśikhara[4]. (Which is in Bengal, and which is now called Pārśvanāth hill). The first Tīrthaṅkara. Ṛṣabhadeva attained salvation on Aṣṭāpad[4]. The twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Nemināttha, attained salvation on Raivatāchal[4] (near Junāgaḍh), and the twelfth, Vāsupūjya, in the garden of Champānagarī[4] (the capital of Aṅgadeśa) and Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth in Apāpānagarī (which was afterwards called Pāpā-nagarī (sinful town) because Mahāvīra died there, and then was called Pāvāpurī[4]. These are the places given in Jaina books, where the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras attained salvation. Priyadarshin wanted the posterity to

[1] See picture No. 8.

[2] The position for standing in meditation was like this standing erect, legs to-gether, arms straight at the sides, eyes fixed on the tip of the nose.

[3] He is the lord of heaven, and controls rainfall.

[4] There are verses in Jaina books where these names are given with the names of the respective Tīrthaṅkaras.

[5] See the account of Aṅgadeśa further.

kingdom of Chedi (Kuśasthala)[14] (See the description of kingdom No. 12).

Another mistake is committed by the writers of history. The first mistake was in connection with the names of the country. This second mistake is in connection with the name of the capital.

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remember these places, hence he got rock-edicts erected, in all these places (see the chapters on Priyadarshin, for a full account of the rock-edicts). Then I tried to find out, whether the place in question was one of these places, and I was convinced that this place was none other than the garden of Champānagarī. because the rock-edict of king Priyadarshin, erected at Rupnātha, is in its neighbourhood. Secondly, in the time of Mahāvīra, the town of Champānagarī,[4] which was the capital of Dadhivāhan[5], king of Angadeśa, and which was attacked and destroyed by Śatānika, the king of Vatsa, was situated here. It was again established by Kuṇika[6] the son of the king Śreṇika. This Kuṇika has shown his devotion towards Jaina religion by getting a pillar erected in a place in Bhārhut-stūpa [7], Moreover, according to Jaina books, the town-entering ceremony of Sudharmā swami, the first disciple of Mahāvīra, was celebrated by this Kuṇika, with unprecedented pomp and procession. (A scene illustrating this is inscribed on a gate of Bhārhut-stūpa). Thus when I got so many historical proofs, I was convinced that Bhārhut-stūpa is connected with the Jaina religion. The place where Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tīrthankara attained salvation, is also near Champānagarī (the place of Rupnātha's rock-edict), and hence Priyadarshin has a rock-edict erected there (from this it became clear to me that the rock-edicts of Priyadarshin were meant to indicate the places where the Tīrthankaras died and attained salvation[8]. Both Kuṇika and Prasenjit have got pillars erected to show their devotion towards Jaina religion.

Prasenjit was a follower of Buddhism first, and then exchanged it for Jainism. Then he might have come to this place for a pilgrimage in or after 556 B. C. (when Mahāvīra acquired Kaivalyagnāna, and only a year before which Śreṇika was converted to Jainism.) There is here also a pillar erected by Kuṇika (Ajātśatru) which might have been erected in between 523 B. C. to 496 B. C. Hence king Prasenjit's pillar must have been erected in, between 556 to 523 B. C. and king Ajātśatru's pillar must have been erected between 523 to 496 B. C.

(14) See f. n. No. 12 above.

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[6] See the account of king Kuṇika further.

[7] See "Bhārhut-stūpa" by General Cunningham.

[8] See the chapters on king Priyadarshin.

We have stated that the capital of Kośala was "Ayodhyā". Now, "Āyuddhās" is the name of a people; and their province, according to Chinese writers, was "O-u-to", and its capital was Sāchī[15]. This province is said to have been situated in the south-east of Kānyakubja. Historians have confused these two names "Ayodhyā"[16] (name of a city), and "Āyuddhās"[17] (Name of a people) and have asserted that Sāchī (Sāket) was the capital of "Ayodhyā", because Sāket was the other name of "Ayodhyā". (So they have confused "Sāchī" and "Sāket" also !). We can prove that this is a gross mistake by the evidence of the Chinese travellers who have written that "Sāchī" was in the south-east of Kanoj or Kānyakubja; while "Ayodhyā" or "Sāket" was many miles in the north of Kanoj. Hence we come to the conclusions that "Ayodhyā" and "Āyuddhās"[18] are quite different terms having quite different connotations.

One is the name of a city. The other is the name of a people. (They had their own coins, and this race still exists in India. They are famous for their strength and are now called "Chobā"

(15) "Sāchī" and "Sāñchī" are, again, different places. Sāchī is near Kānyakubja; while Sāñchī is in Bhopāl and is famous for its inscriptions. (Full information about Sāñchī is given in the account of Avanti in chapter VII.

(16) See the f. n. on No. 25 chap. III. It is a Jaina place for pilgrimage. In the silver Jubilee Number of the "Jain" p. 41., we have a verse (see at the foot of p. 121) in Sanskrit in the article by Muni Śree Kalyāṇvijayaji in which occurs the word "Joddhāṇa" in the first line. Muni Śree Kalyāṇvijayaji has commented on this word. He says "It is the name of a very old place, about which we know nothing now. The word "Yoddhānaka" occurs in the rock inscription of Ajāra of the Vikrama Era 1222. It must have been in the region of Godwāḍ and Bhītroṭ."

Now the etymological meaning af the word "Āyuddhās is "a place of the residence of a race of strong and sturdy people". (see chap III. f. n. No. 14., and chap. III f. n. No. 25). "Joddhāṇa" and "Yoddhānaka" mean the same thing.

See the position of No. 25 on the map on page 53.

(17) See the description of Ayodhyā in R. W. W.

(18) See C. A. I.

or "Bhaiyā". Their territory extended from Kānyakubja to Cawnpore[19]. (See Chapter III. f. n. 24).

In Bauddha books, Kośala is divided into two parts. The capital of the northern portion is said to be Śrāvastī, and that of the southern portion, Ayodhyā. The king at that time was Prasenjit, and he was a contemporary of Buddha[20]. The names of all the predecessors and descendents of Prasenjit are given in another Bauddha book named "Aśokāvdān"[21]. The name of the first king is Bimbisār, and Prasenjit is put ninth in descent to him. If we allow twenty-five years to each king's tenure of rule, two hundred years must have elasped between the rule of Bimbisāra, and the rule of Prasenjit. But it is a historical fact that both Prasenjit and Bimbisāra were contemporaries of Buddha. Hence we shall have to disregard the information given in Bauddha books.

Confusion about the ruling dynasty

"Pasādi"[22] is the name of the king of Kośala in Bauddha books, and "Pradeśi" is the name in Jaina books, in which he is said to be a devout follower[23] of Keśi,[24] fifth in the line of

(19) See chap. III. f. n. No. 25.

Champā Rajagrhe cha Chakra-Mathurā-Joddhā Pratisthānagre,
Vande Swarṇagirau tathā Sūragirau Śrī Devapattaṇe.
Hastoṇdipurī Pādalā-Daśapure Chārupa-Panchāsare,
Vande Śrī Karṇātaka-Śivapure Nāgadrahe Nānake.

(20) See the description in chapter II.

(21) R. W. W. Vol. II. f. n. No. 3.

(22) "King Pasādi"—these are the words written in Bauddha books. Whether Passādi, Pradeśi, and Prasenjit can have the same etymological sense, is a subject deserving the attention of a linguistic expert. In R. K. M. p. 32, the word given is "Pasenādi". My idea is this: "Pradeśi" is the name in Jaina books. In Prakrt language, it might have been written as "Padeśi" and in the Bauddha books written in the Pali language, it must have been written as "Padesi" or "Padāsi" which in English became "Paddāsi". Some writer, through a slip of pen, or to show its similarity with Prasenjit, might have written "Passādi".

(23) In Jaina books, the principal disciples of a Tīrthankara are called "Gaṇadhar" which appellation is not applied to any one else. Keśi cannot be called a "Gaṇadhar". It is true that Pārśvanātha had a "Gaṇadhar" named Keśi, but he must be a different individual.

(24) See further, and f. n. No. 32.

preceptors, beginning from Pārśvanātha, and a contemporary of Mahāvīra.

So, Prasenjit was a contemporary both of Mahāvīra and of Buddha, thus proving that Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries. Hence, Śreṇika, Mahāvīra, Buddha, and Prasenjit were all contemporaries. Śreṇika was the king of Magadha and Prasenjit was the king of Kośala. Prasenjit and Śreṇika did not belong to the same dynasty. Only they were contempoiaries. Mahāvīra and Buddha being preachers travelled in all places and did not settle anywhere.

What is the Truth ?

It is also stated in Bauddha books that battles had taken place between Prasenjit and Śreṇika. Jaina books are silent on this point. The reason is not far to seek. (see f. n. No. 32). Then they had come to terms as follows:–King Prasenjit was to give his daughter in marriage to Śreṇika himself, and his son's Viruddhaka's daughter was to be given in marriage to Śreṇika's son Kuṇika. Thus ties of marriage bound both the kings.

Thus it seems possible that "Pradeśi" of the Jaina books, and "Pasādi" of the Bauddha books might have been one and the same individual, and that both these names refer to the king of Kośala, who was contemporary of Śreṇika. It is true that two kings came to the throne of Kośala during the time of Śreṇika, but the second was Vidurațha–Viruddhaka, son of Prasenjit. Viduratha could not have been called Pradeśi. Hence we come to the conclusion that Pradeśi is the other name of Prasenjit.

The reason why Pradeśi is known as Prasenjit is, that he must have been at first a follower of Buddha. It is also possible that he might have belonged to the Sākya race[25] to which Gautama Buddha belonged; and he might have been his relative, because

(25) It is possible that Śakyas may be a branch of the Ikshavāku kshatriyas. If it is not so, Śakyasinha and Prasenjit cannot have been of the same race. As to Prasenjit's belonging to Ikshavāku race see f. n. No. 31. below.

*It has been proved later that Gautama Buddha and Prasenjit belonged to the same race of kshatriyas. (See the account of king Vidurath–Viruddhaka in this chapter).

the kingdoms of this king and of Buddha's father were near each other. Just as the kingdom of Mahāvīra's father Siddhārtha was one of the federal states included in the kingdom of Cheṭak, king of Videha or Vaiśalī; similarly, the kingdom of Gautama Buddha's father Suddhodhan, might have been a part of the kingdom of Prasenjit.

Why Pradeśi was called Prasenjit?

We can give enough reasons in support of this conclusion; firstly it is stated in Jaina books that this Pradeśi was converted to Jainism by Keśi Muni, fifth in the line of preceptors from Pārśvanātha. This converson proves that he must have been following another religion before it[26]. Secondly, it is a proved fact that Buddha began preaching at the age of thirty-six in 564 B. C.[27], while Mahāvīra became a monk at the age of thirty and began preaching at the age of forty-two, in 556 B. C. So there is about a decade's interval between the beginnings of the preachings of the gospels of these two prophets; and Buddha had begun first; thirdly, historians have stated on the authority of Bauddha books that Śreṇika was at first a follower of Buddhism, (This is not clearly stated in Jaina books, but is tacitly admitted)[28], but after his queen Kshemā was made a Bauddha nun, his mind began to waver. Then he married Chillaṇa, the daughter of Chetak, king of Videha[29] and became a staunch Jain This took place in 556 B. C.;

(26) Buddha began to spread the gospel of Buddhism at the age of thirty-six in 564 B. C. (See f. n. No. 27 below). So king Prasenjit must have been converted to Buddhism, only after 564 B. C. Before that, he might have been following some other religion. It is possible that he might have been a Jain just as the kings of his Ikshavāku race (See the account of Kāśī) were Jains. Keśi Muni, then reconverted him to Jainism, before 556 B. C. (the year in which Mahāvīra acquired Kaivalyagnāna) as proved before. So we come to the conclusion that king Padeśi was reconverted to Jainism between 564 B. C. and 556 B. C. and Buddhism lost a mighty follower.

(27) See Vol. II. chapter I (fixing of the dates of Mahāvīra and a chronological list of the events of their life).

(28) See f. n. No. 29 below.

(29) The girl was absconded for the sake of marriage. (See the account of Vaiśālī) because Cheṭak, father of Chillaṇa, did not consent to the marriage, possibly because king Śreṇika might not have been a Jain at that time. Jaina books may be silent about Śreṇika being a Bauddha, but at least he was not a Jain at this time. (for further information see the account of Śreṇika further).

it is now found out that the first ancestor of Śreṇika and the founder of the Śiśunāga dynasty, was the king of Kāśī[30]. He had often to wage wars with the king of Kośala (i. e. an ancestor of Prasenjit) whose kingdom was in his neighbourhood, on account of both having a sensitiveness for family pride[31]. These wars culminated in the decision of the king of Kāśī to marry a daughter of the king of Kośala, who called himself belonging to a higher family. Fortune smiled on the king of Kāśī, and he became the king of Magadha also. Śreṇika, his descendent not only fulfilled his ancestor's vow by himself marrying a daughter of the king of Kośala, but also married his son Kuṇika to the daughter of Viruddhaka, Prasenjit's son. In short, both the kings of Kāśī (or Magadha) and Kośala were very sensitive about family pride; and so it is possible that Śreṇika and Prasenjit might not have been on good terms from the very beginning; and now they also belonged to different religions, because Prasenjit was converted to Jainism[32] much earlier than Śreṇika. So there were two reasons for these wars: family pride[33] and difference of religion.

(30) Details are given in the account of Kāśī further in this volume.

(31) Kings of Kośala belonged to the Ikshavāku race, while kings of Kāśī belonged to Malla race (a branch of the Vriji kshatriyas of Vaiśālī). The race of the Ikshavāku is considered high, because it can boast to have produced twenty-two out of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras. Followers of other religions also have considered Ikshavāku race to be very high. (c. f. p. 81 f. n. No. 25).

(32) See the para entitled "What is the truth?" in this chap. The conversion of Prasenjit took place after 565 B. C.. or any time between 556 (the year of Mahāvīra's attainment of Kaivalya-gnāna) and 565 B. C. One more proof of this conversion is the erection of a stūpa known as "Bhārhut-stūpa" in historical books. See the account of Priyadarshin for the reasons why this pillar was erected here; and f. n 13 above.

(33) That a devout follower of Jainism like Śreṇika (who had deserved and acquired the fitness to be placed on one of the highest positions in the next birth) should have attached so much importance to religious differences is not believable. The wars between them, must have been due to their oversensitiveness for family pride. If the cause of the wars had been religious difference only, wars would have come to an end by 556 B. C. When Śreṇika

Taking all the above reasons into consideration, we come to the conclusion that both Śreṇika and Prasenjit were first followers of Buddhism; that Prasenjit and Buddha possibly belonged to the same race; that the family of the king of Kośala must have been higher than the family of the king of Magadha.

Even now we find the name "Prasenjit" in the Jaina books, but after he became a follower of Jainism, he was given the name "Pradeśi". In Bauddha books "Passādi" might have possibly been written through religious jealousy.

A peculiarity of the Jaina writers

A peculiarity of the Jaina writers deserves a short notice here[34]. The charge of religious jealousy the reader would naturally think, which I have put on Bauddha writers, can be applied more forcibly and more justifiably to Jaina writers, because Bauddha writers have, at least some times, written Prasādi (Passādi) for Prasenjit, but Jaina writers have taken every precaution not to admit "Prasenjit" even once (as far as I know) in their books. Really, it is not due to religious jealousy. The very word "Jain" means "a man without jealousy". But the fact that the Jaina writers have adopted the method of giving a certain one name throughout to an individual, suggests and illustrates their peculiarity which is this : it has been a very common custom with them to give names to persons in such a way, that they might symbolize certain events in the lives of those persons[35]. They therefore give up the original birth-names of the persons. For instance, the name "Biṃbisār"

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accepted Jainism as his faith. But the wars continued and were over only, when Śreṇika conquered Kośala during the middle years of his reign. So it was the family pride, which had acquired such a powerful hold over their minds.

(34) The reader will ask the reason, why I should intrude upon him this discussion in a book concerned with pure history. The reason is this this type of knowledge often helps a student of history when he is wrecking his brains over the most ambiguious historical problems.

(35) This is a good custom in a way, because the name which one gets at the time of birth, does not shed any light on the life of a man. Names given at the times of birth, have often confused many historians.

is time and again found in Bauddha books, while it is seldom found in Jaina books. He has been given by them, the very suggestive and symbolic name of Śreṇika (Śreṇi=a guild; and ka=builder; builder of guilds) because he achieved the difficult task of the construction of the whole of the social and political structure. The father of king Ajātśatru had brought him up at a great sacrifice and much trouble, and had kept his aching finger in his mouth. This Ajātśatru forgetting the benevolence, imprisoned his father for a small fault, instead of serving him in his old age. In order that the posterity may remember his ingratitude, they gave him the name of Kuṇika[36], on account of his deformed finger. Priyadarśin was the name of the grandson of emperor Aśoka[37]; but because his reign was that of unimpeded and increasing prosperity, he was given the name of Saṃprati[38]. This is no place to quote many instances. We should not here forget that these names were given to those persons, not by themselves, but by the people around them and by the writers. We have no reason to believe that they called themselves by these names, or adopted these names. Śreṇika always called himself Biṃbisāra, Kuṇika called himself Ajātśatru, and Saṃprati Priyadarśin, and Pradeśi called himself Prasenjit. From this it becomes clear what names were inscribed by these kings on the pillars erected by them, and also why Jaina writers constantly gave them different names. Moreover, Prasenjit was a Buddhist first, and a Jain afterwards. This must have been known to the writers of those times. They

(36) For further information see the account of king Ajātśatru.

(37) Hitherto all scholars believe that Aśoka and Priyadarśin are one and the same individuals. I think they are different individuals. Priyadarśin came to the throne after his grandfather Aśoka. Details are given in chapters on Aśoka and Priyadarśin.

(38) The word "Saṃprati" means "just now". (For the hidden meaning in this name, see the chapters on Priyadarśin). I believe that the first name must have been Saṃpiati. but afterwards changed into "Saṃpatti" (wealth) on account of his possessing immense wealth. Later on this might have became "Saṃpāti" or "Saṃbādi". (In Tibetian books this name is found. It is also sometimes found in Bauddha books).

might have purposely suppressed this fact, because of their principle to give those facts about Buddhism only, which would not be discreditable to it, and leave the rest as they were. There is a third explanation. They might have been impartial and might have written facts which they knew, and the subsequent writers also might have slavishly followed them without further investigation. But the fault lies with those who possessed the old manuscripts of Jaina books and scriptures, who kept them a sealed book of knowledge to all the students of history and thus prevented them from comparing the statement.

Thus it is a fact that Prasenjit had changed his religion, and Jaina writers might have given him a name after their own tastes —Pradeśi or Paradeśi[39]. This Prasenjit was the king of Kośala or Ayodhyā.

Other kings after Prasenjit

We get no information about this from the Jaina books. In Bauddha books, however, it is stated that, Viduratha[40] succeeded his father Prasenjit; that, Kuśulika, who was a contemporary of Anuruddha, king of Magadha, succeeded Viduratha; that he was succeeded by Suratha, who was a contemporary of the first Nanda king; that his son Sumitra was defeated by Mahānanda[41] and that Kośala was annexed to the empire of Magadha.

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(39) This "Paradeśi" seems to be a crude form for the pure one "Pradeśi". "Paradeśi"=foreigner; hence he might possibly have belonged to a country outside India. (i.e. the region of Śuddhodhana, father of Śākyasinha, is in Nepāl which, to their calculation was out of India.). While "Pradeśi" (Pra-many: Deshi=lord of countries) means "Lord of many countries"; his kingdom must have been very vast.

(40) In H. H. pp. 499, his name has been given as "Viruddhak".

In R. K. M. Pp. 68, his name is Viḍuḍbha.

(41) I once believed that king Kuṇika had annexed Kośala to Magadha (see further the account of Viduratha). I had to change my belief because Bauddha books explicity tell us that kings of this race ruled on Kośala upto the time of king Nanda.

A woman historian[42] has given us the geneological list of the whole race, as follows:—

(1) Vrta (Vaṅka)—A contemporary of king Kākavarṇa of the Śiśunāga dynasty; he was the first king of Kośala to invade Kāśī.
(2) (Son) Ratañjaya or Dabbasena.
(3) (Son) Sañjaya—The great conqueror of Kāśī; a contemporary of king Kshemjit of the Śiśunāga dynasty.
(4) (Son) Prasenjit—Father-in-law of Śreṇika of the Śisśunāga dynasty; peace was established between Kośala and Magadha.
(5) (Son) Viduratha—A contemporary of Kuṇika, king of Magadha (was living upto 520 B. C.).
(6) (Son) Kuśulika—A contemporary of Anuruddha.
(7) (Son) Suratha — A contemporary of king Nanda.
(8) (Son) Sumitra — Defeated by king Mahānanda.

Our woman historian has furnished no details about any one of the above kings. We can glean out some information about them[43] by making a study of the other ruling families who were their contemporaries.

(1) King Vṛta or Vaṅka—He is said to have invaded Kāśī, the king of which was Kākavarṇa, who was defeated by him[44]. Kākavarṇa was the second in the line of the king of the Śiśunāga dynasty, while Vaṅka was the founder of his own dynasty. It follows from this, that Vaṅka must have been far advanced in age at the time of his invasion of Kāśī[45], and the tenure of his rule and his life too, must have been long enough. Thus a knowledge of the kings of Kāśī helps us much in our attempt at gleaning information about the kings of Kośala.

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(42) See C. I. D. and the geneological lists given at the end of this book.

(43) I have arranged their geneological lists as correctly as I could. See further.

(44) H. H. pp. 497, "Kākavarṇa was not heroic like his father. It appears that king of Śrāvastī wrested Benāres from his hands."

(45) See the account of Kāśī.

(2) Ratañjaya or Dabbasena:—He must have also ruled for a great number of years over Kośala, like his father, because in his old age, he must possibly have been a contemporary of Kākavarṇa, the second king in the Śiśunāga line. Moreover, his son Sañjaya is stated to have been a contemporary of Kshemjit, fourth king in the Śiśunāga line. In short, the tenure of Ratañjaya, the second king[46] of Kośala, must have been long enough to make him a contemporary of the second third, and fourth kings of the Śiśunāga line. His son is stated to have been a contemporary of the fourth Śiśunāga king Kshemjit, and not of the third Śiśunāga king, Kshemavardhan.

(3) Sañjaya:—He is stated to have been a contemporary of king Kshemjit, the fourth Śiśnāga king. His son Prasenjit (fourth king of Kośala) was the father-in-law of the sixth Śiśunāga king Śreṇika who ruled Magadha. Śreṇika's reign lasted for fifty-two years. In short, the tenure of the rule of the third and fourth kings of Kośala must have been as long as a part of the tenure of the fourth, the whole of the fifth, and a major part of the fifty-two years of the sixth king of Magadha. Another idea arises in our mind from this.

That idea is this : If the tenure of a king's reign is exceedingly long, his son succeeds to the throne at a very advanced age. Consequently his tenure of reign is short. If, by any chance, or due to much longevity of his life, this son's tenure of reign is also exceedingly long, at least the tenure of the reign of this son's son is bound to be short. Sometimes he never comes to the throne, because he dies before his father dies. If it happens so, the second king is directly succeeded by his grandson, who must be a young man, and this young man's tenure of reign may be and can reasonably be as long as his grandfather's or even longer. In short, if we have three kings, each reigning for a very long time, we may reasonably suppose that at least the third king must be not the son, but the grand-son of the second king.

(46) There are reasons to believe that his number might be third, but if his number is fourth, Vanka's number would be second, and hence he must have been a contemporary of king Kshemjit, fourth king in the Śiśunāga dynasty. (See the geneological list for further information).

Now keeping the above idea in mind, let us turn to the numbers of years of the rule of each of the first four Kośala kings, Vaṅka,[47] Ratañjaya, Sañjaya, and Prasenjit. We may reasonably grant the long tenure of reign to Vaṅka and Ratañjaya, and also admit of them to have the relation of father and son. But when we are confronted with the fact, that even Sañjaya and Prasenjit reigned for a very long time, we shall have to admit the possibility of an intermediary king either between the second and the third, or at least, between the third and the fourth. That the relation between the second and the third was that of father and son is a proved fact. Hence, we come to the conclusion that there must have been an intermediary individual between Sañjaya and Prasenjit. The individual who might have been Sañjaya's son and Prasenjit's father. The second explanation of these long tenure of reigns may be that Ratañjaya and Dabbasen might have been different individuals having the relation of father and son. To make matters clear, I give here different possible geneological lists of the Kośala kings, and request the reader to accept that, which appeals to him so, most reasonable :

1	2	3	4	5
Vrta	Vṛta	...	Vṛta	Vrta
(Vaṅka)	(Vaṅka)		(Vaṅka)	(Vaṅka)
Ratañjaya	Ratañjaya	Vrta	Ratañjaya	Ratañjaya
or Dabbasen	Dabbasen	(Vaṅka)	or Dabbasen	or Dabbasen
Sañjaya	Sañjaya	Ratañjaya	...	Sañjaya
		or		
...	Prasenjit	Dabbasen	Sañjaya	...
Prasenjit	Viduratha	Sañjaya	Prasenjit	Prasenjit
Viduratha	Kuśulik	Prasenjit	Viduratha	Viduratha
Kuśulik	Surath	Viduratha	Kuśulik	Kuśulik
Surath	Sumitra	Kuśulik	Surath	Suratha
Sumitra		Surath	Sumitra	Sumitra
		Sumitra		

(47) Vaṅka should be taken as the second in the line. See the lists at the end of the book.

In No. 1 list, the order of names is, as given in the list of the woman historian.

No. 2 appeals to me most. The other three are given in order as they appeal to me.

If we allow ourselves to believe that there were nine Kośala kings instead of eight, they tally in being contemporaries to many different dynasties. I give below the possible number of every king's tenure of reign.

1.	790 to 740 B. C.	50 years
2.	740 to 700 B. C.	40 „
3.	700 to 640 B. C.	60 „
4.	640 to 585 B. C.	55 „
5.	585 to 535 B. C.	50 „
6.	535 to 490 B. C.	45 „
7.	490 to 470 B. C.	20 „
8.	470 to 460 B. C.	10 „
9.	460 to 450 B. C.	10 „
	Total	340 years

More details about Prasenjit

A great number of years of Prasenjit's reign was spent in wars with the kings of Kāśī and Magadha, and in changing his religion and saving his soul. We do not know any more about him. Bauddha books are silent about the manner of his death, possibly because he had become a Jain in his old age. From Jaina books[48] we come to know that, he died of poison which was served to him by his queen. We do not know the exact date and year of his death, but it must have taken place about 530 B. C., because when Kuṇika succeeded his father in 528 B. C. at the age of twenty-eight, his wife Prabhāvatī (who was Prasenjit's son's Viduratha's daughter) had a son nearly seven years old. Consequently Kuṇika must have married Prabhāvatī

(48) Vide P. 101, of "Bharateśvara Bāhubali Vṛtti" where it is stated that queen Suryakānta served poison to her husband Pradeśi, because she was a licentious woman.

in 528+9=537 B. C., and king Prasenjit was allive at that time[49]. Hence he must have died at least after 537 B. C., when he was nearly sixty years old; because Prabhāvatī, his son's daughter, must have been at least twenty years old in 528 B. C. Now if we take Prabhāvatī's year of birth to be 550 B. C. her father Viduratha must have born not earlier than 570 B C., and his father Prasenjit must have born in 590 B. C. So he must have died at the age of sixty[50]. A writer has stated the circumstances under which he died as follows:—" His son Viruddhak revolted against him. Prasenjit fled and came down to Rājgrha to seek shelter of his son-in-law, but died outside the town tired and careworn ".

Whether he died under this circumstances, or through the effects of poison served to him by his queen Suryakāntā, is a problem to be solved by the students of history. It will here suffice to say that his death did not take place under normal conditions.

Further research has brought out that he died in 526 B. C. [See f. n. No. 52 below]

This is all about Prasenjit. Now we shall take up the next in the line.

(5) Viruddhak—It is said[51] that once king Prasenjit was bewitched by the beauty of a Śākya princess, and wanted to marry her. The leaders of the race did not like this proposal because Prasenjit and the Śākyas belonged to the same family. On the other hand, they could not afford to displease such a powerful king. So they placed a beautiful maid-servant in the place of the princess, and married her to the king. Viruddhak was born of her. When he grew up, he came to know of this deceitful action played with his father, and decided to avenge it. Five years, after he came to the throne (according to our calculation, about 520 B. C.).

(49) It was he, who had made peace-terms with king Śreṇika and it was he, who has given his daughter in marriage to him, and his son's–Vidurāth's daughter in marriage to Śreṇika's son Kuṇika.

(50) See below. His death took place in 526 B. C. at the age of sixty-four.

(51) Vide P. 38 of E. H. I. 4th. ed. and H. H. p. 499.

he invaded the region of Kapilvastu, which was under the Śākyas, slaughtered them all, and annexed that region to his kingdom. A short time after this, the "Nirvāṇa" (going to heaven) of Buddha took place[52].

(6, 7, 8) Kuśulik, Surath, and Sumitra:—No information is forthcoming about these three kings. I have already stated the names of the kings who were their contemporaries. I shall discuss later on, the tenures of their reigns in connection with their contemporary kings. It will suffice here to state, that the Kośala dynasty was exterminated by Mahānanda[53] who defeated Sumitra, the last king, and Kośala was annexed to the empire of Magadha.

Conclusion

The boundary lines of Kāśī and Kośala touched one another at many points; hence it is possible and natural that wars might have been waged in connection with them. But kings of that time were not much interested in territorial expansion. Hence, family pride and religious differences, as stated before, must have been chief reasons of wars. King Vaṅka is said to have invaded Kāśī for the first time, when Kākavarṇa was its ruler. This Kākavarṇa was the son of first king Śiśunāg, who was the founder of the dynasty of that name[54]. This Siśunāg also was a contemporary of Vaṅka; but Vaṅka might not have thought it safe to provoke him to battle, because he must have believed him to be more valorous than he himself was. When Śiśunāg acquired the kingdom of Magadha, he went there, and left Kāśī under the care of his son. Vaṅka might have then seen his opportunity and invaded

(52) The "Parinirvāṇa" (attainment of salvation) of Buddha is said to have taken place in May or June of 520 B C. In R K. M. p. 68, it is stated that Kapilvastu was destroyed only a short time, before the death of Buddha. Hence the year of Kapilvastu's destruction must have been 521 B C.

(53) In Bauddha books it is stated that his country was annexed to the kingdom of Magadha by king Nândivardhan. But the exact words are "conquered by Nanda the Great", which title can be applied to the Ninth Nanda king only, because his tenure of reign was the longest amongst all the Nanda kings.

(54) His dynasty takes its name from his name.

Kāśī. Śiśunāga kings had to protect two kingdoms, Magadha and Kāśī; but the rulership of Magadha commanded more respect and prestige. Hence Śiśunāga kings spent most of their time in Kusumpura, the capital of Magadha; and thus Kośala kings found it easy to invade Kāśī as often as they liked, and conquered Kāśī, either because the three kings from Kākavarṅa to Kshemjit were weak, or because they were tired of coming to Kāśī from Magadha, and fighting against these ever-disturbing Kośala kings. People always spoke of Kāśī and Kośala in the same breath[55]

Kshemjit was succeeded by Prasenjit and Prasenjit was succeeded by Śreṇika, the famous emperor of Magadha. (Śreṇika, being a valorous king, could not forget to avenge his forefathers by fighting against Kośala kings). He made powerful invasions[56] on Kośala, the king of which, Prasenjit was an old man. Prasenjit accepted his defeat and was forced to give his daughter in marriage to Śreṇika, and his son's (Viduratha's) daughter in marriage to Śreṇika's son Kuṇika, because Śreṇika wanted to strike a blow against his family pride.

(4) KĀŚĪ

This country consisted of the modern Vaṇārasi, Prayāg, and Gāzipur districts.

Preliminary account

Bṛhadratha, who figures prominently in Mahābhārat, was a king of Kāśī, and his descendents are called "Bṛhadrathās". In mythological books it is stated that beginning with this Bṛhadratha, thirty-two Bṛhadratha kings reigned in succession over Kāśī, upto the time with which we are here concerned. Now there are many "Purāṇās" (mythological books). Mr. Pargiter, once a judge, has made a deep study of the many manuscripts of these "Purāṇas", and then has published a book entitled "Pargiter's Dynastic list of Kali Age". In this book is mentioned this succession of thirty–

(55) For the names of these two countries being spoken together, see "Purātattva" vol. II, p. 3.

(56) It is said that eleven or twelve wars had taken place.

two kings[57]. Brhadratha has been stated to be the founder of the line. During the reign of the tenth king, the famous Mahābhārat wars are stated to have taken place. The thirty-second king was defeated by a king named Śiśunāg[58] who founded a dynasty after his name, and became the king of Kāśī. This is stated to have happened one thousand years after the Mahābhārat wars, by Mr. Pargiter. Thus, according to him the period of the rule of 22 kings was 1000 years, and those of 32 kings was also 1000 years.

Defects in the above calculations, and the reasons of these defects

Mr. Pargiter has thus stated that a thousand years was the tenure of the reigns of these thirty-two Brhadratha kings[59]. He has described some events that had taken place during their reigns, and has given an estimate of the number of years that might have elasped between the taking place of one event after another. A simple addition of the numbers of these intervening years, far exceeds one thousand. Again, he has based his method of calculating the years on that of ancient astronomers and astrologers. These astronomers noted the names of the constellations through which the sun had passed, whenever they wanted to calculate how many years had elapsed between the happening of the two events. Then they counted the number of constellations through which the sun might have passed, during that time. Thus, if the first event might have happened when the sun was passing through a constellation X, and the second event when the sun was passing through a constellation Y, they counted the number of constellations through which the sun must have passed in his journey from X to Y and then multiplied that number by hundred,

(57) Vide p. 68 of that book:—"These thirty-two kings are future Brhadrathas, their kingdom will last for 1000 years indeed."

(58) This means that before Śiśunāg, all the kings were the descendents of Brhadratha, who is said to have belonged to the Ikshvāku race, in Mahābhārat. (For the information about the family of Pārśvanāth's father Aśvasena c. f. this with the paragraph, "The origin of Śiśunāg")

(59) 1000 years can be said not the tenure of all the thirty-two kings, but of the twenty only, who succeeded the tenth king and who lived in the time of Mahābhārat.

because the sun takes nearly a hundred years to pass through one constellation[60].

These astronomers (and Mr. Pargiter has followed their footsteps) have glibly ignored the possibility of a big mistake that would surely be committed in these calculations. They count the number of constellations to be twenty-seven. The sun would take twenty-seven hundred years to finish his one round through them all, and so on his rounds would continue. Now there can be no possibility of a mistake, if the interval between the two events was less than twenty-seven hundred years; i. e. less than the time taken by the sun to finish his one round. But, if in between two events the sun might have finished his one whole round, the astronomers dropped to mention that, and only gave the names of the two constellations; one of the happening of the first event, and the other of the happening of the second event. In that case, if the sun might have finished only one round, the mistake would be of twenty-seven hundred years; and if the sun might have finished more than one round, the mistake would be of twenty-seven hundred multiplied by the number of rounds. Now, the writers of Purāṇās have given us only the number of constellations through which the sun might have passed, from the time of the wars of Mahābhārat[61] to the reign of Mahāpadma (one of the Nanda kings). Calculating from the number of these constellations, one thousand years are all right. But they have not stated how many rounds the sun had finished between the happenings of these two events. Had they stated that, we could have got the correct number of years. Now, all the subsequent historians have taken these one thousand years as all right without any hesitation, because they had the authority of these astronomers.

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(60) At that time, the belief of the people was, that the sun revolved round the earth.

(61) It is evident, that just as the authors of the "Purāṇas" have committed a mistake in fixing the date of Mahābhārat, they have also miscalculated the time of Kṛṣṇa. Nemināthа, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains, was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa, and is said to have lived eighty-four thousand years before our time. Many different opinions prevail as to his date also. (I have discussed this subject in another book). See f. n. No. 63 below.

That my objection, stated above, is justified, can be proved by a simple arithmetical calculation. I take this opportunity to justify myself.

King Mahāpadma (Mahānanda) reigned in fifth century B.C.[62] If the sun might have been passing through the same constellation in the time of king Mahāpadma, through which he was passing at the time of Mahābhārat wars, we can calculate, that 2700 years must have passed between the happening of the two events. Then we have to find out, how many such rounds were finished by the sun between these two events. If the sun has finished not even a single round, the Mahābhārata wars must be said to have taken place in the 5th century B. C. If the sun has finished one round, Mahābhārata wars must have taken place in 3200 B. C. If the sun has finished two rounds, they must have taken place in 5900 B. C., and so on. Now the late Lokmānya Tilak has fixed the time of Mahābhārat[63] to be 3201 B. C.. (Whether Lokmānya Tilak's calculation is correct or whether he has committed the same mistake as these astrologers did and whether the time of Mahābhārata wars must have been 5900 B. C., 8600 B. C., or 11300 B. C. etc. etc , are questions out of place here, and so I leave them aside for a while[64]).

It must now have been clear to the reader that there are grave mistakes in the calculations of the time of Mahābhārat, and the number of the Kali Age based on that. Also Mr. Pargiter's statement that a thousand years had passed between Mahābhārata wars and the reign of king Mahāpadma, is totally wrong. Now, when the interval between the tenth Bṛhadratha king and the reign of Mahāpadma was more than thousand years, the interval between the first Bṛhadratha king and Mahāpadma must have been

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(62) For the exact time of these Nanda kings, read the chapters devoted to them.

(63) I have calculated and stated my opinion as to the time of Mahābhārat and the duration of the life of Kṛṣṇa, but I do not think it proper to intrude upon the reader, a discussion of these subjects here.

(64) See f. n. No. 63 above.

still longer. Thus it is proved that both Bṛhadratha and Śiśunāga ruled over Kāśī, but they had no blood relationship[65].

All the Jaina books unanimously state that their twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, was the son of king Aśvasena of Kāśī[66] who belonged to the Ikshavāku race[67], that his duration of life was 100 years, that time of his "Nirvāṇa" (attainment of salvation) was 250 years before the "Nirvāṇa" of Mahāvīra, that he had become a monk at the age of thirty and lived as an ascetic for seventy years. We know that the "Nirvāṇa" of Mahāvīra took place in 527 B. C. Hence we come to the following conclusions about the time of Pārśvanātha:—

The origin of Śiśunāg, and how he became the king of Kāśī

The "Nirvāṇa" of Pārśvanātha—527+250=777 B. C.

The birth of Pārśvanātha 777+100 (the duration of his life)=877 B. C.

The time of his becoming a monk 877–30=847 B. C.

When he became a monk, his father Aśvasena was on the throne; but we do not know the time of his death.

In other books[68] it is stated that the founder of the Śiśunāga dynasty, was at first the king of Kāśī, and his capital was Vaṇārasi. ("King Śiśunāg, the founder of the Śiśunāga dynasty had his sway over the province of Kāśī and his capital was Vaṇārasi)." It is also stated elsewhere in the same book[69] that "when the

(65) It has not been settled whether he was a son and successor both, but he must have been the successor only and not the son.

(66) See below the estimate of time no. 4 and f. n. no. 70.

(67) Cf. f. n. no. 58 above to ascertain the fact that this Aśvasena was a descendent of Bṛhadratha of the Mahābhārata wars. It is a question whether all the Bṛhadratha kings followed the same religion. If they followed the same religion, Mahābhārat can be proved to be a book belonging to the Jaina religion. (It is truly so. I have only stated the bare fact, and have not entered into discussions, because this is not the proper place for it.) Ikshavāku is the name of a family and not of a race. I have used the two words as synonyms wherever there was no danger of confusion: but I have made distinctions wherever I have thought them necessary).

(68) Vide J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. p. 114.

(69) Vide J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. p. 76.

house of Bṛhadratha became extinct and while the Vitihotras were ruling in Avanti (that is before the Pradyotas). Śiśunāg came to Girivraja placing his son on the throne of Benāres, his original kingdom[70]. From the above statements, we draw the following conclusions:—(i) The family of the Bṛhadrathas was exterminated[71]; (ii) At that time the kings of Avanti were of the Vitihotra family, (iii) kings of the Pradyota family ruled over Avanti after the kings of this Vitihotra family; (iv) only after a short time Śiśunāg became the king of Kāśī[72]; (v) He founded the Śiśunāga dynasty, (vi) He had to go to Girivraja (the capital of Magadha) during his reign; (vii) During his absence from Kāśī, he had appointed his son as the ruler of Kāśī

Keeping the above facts in our minds, we come to the inevitable conclusion that Aśvasena, the father of Pārśvanātha, was the last Bṛhadratha[73] king (he also belonged to the Ikshavāku race), and that only a short time after his death, a member of the Śiśunāga family, became the ruler of Kāśī[74]. This Śiśunāga king, obtained the throne of Magadha, in the middle of his reign, and went away to Magadha, leaving the kingdom of Kāśī to his son.

We shall prove later on that these Śiśunāga kings belonged to the Malla family of the kshatriyas, who were cousins of the Saṃvriji and Lichchhavi kshatriyas of Vaiśālī. (They were not Vrijis of Turkey as stated in f. n. No. 73 above). Consequently their original place must have been near (Magadha) but they must

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(70) Vide p 77. f. n. No. 16 J. O B. R. S "This is stated on the authority of Vāyu-Purāna and Matsya-Purāna."

(71) King Bṛhadratha belonged to the Ikshavāku family. King Aśvasena also belonged to the same family, and it is possible that they might have blood-relationship. The Bṛhadratha family was exterminated in Aśvasena's time. Thus he is proved to be the last king of the Bṛhadratha family. (Cf. f. n. No. 64 above).

(72) Cf. f. n. No 65 above.

(73) Cf. f.-n. No. 71 above.

(74) Vide p. 496 H. H "Śiśunāg was formerly a vassal of the Turanian Vrijjians. He founded his dynasty of 10 kings and ruled for 250 years." It comes out from this, that he belonged to a family different from Bṛhadrathas.

have migrated elsewhere to acquire territory and for other political purposes[75]. The above statement is supported by the fact that Śiśunāga's claim to the throne of Magadha was established and accepted. Now, we shall have to find reasons for his going to Kāśī, when he was the native of a territory near Magadha. We know that the throne of Kāśī had been vacant for some time because of the death of Aśvasena. It is clear that this Śiśunāg must have been the scion of a royal family, or even the son of the king of Magadha, and being very brave and adventurous, must have felt a desire to occupy the throne of Kāśī, just because nobody claimed it, and must have conquered Kāśī by an invasion. He must have become the king of Kāśī, only by invading and conquering it; because otherwise, the kings of the neighbouring country of Kośala, like the Brhadrathas of Kāśī, were of the Ikshavāku family[76] and had a stronger claim to the throne of Kāśī. Vaṅka was the king of Kośala at this time, (see the account of Kośala already given) and he did not think it safe to wage war against Śiśunāg, whom he considered mightier than himself[77]. From this it follows, that at the time of Śiśunāg's invasion on Kāśī, king Vaṅka must either have been very young or his father must have been on the throne, and so he must have postponed his idea of invading Kāśī to the time of his coming to the throne; or he must have considered himself inferior to Śiśunāg in might and the art of warfare. Thus a deep sense of antipathy was, at this time, established between the kings of Kāśī and Kośala, and we know that no sooner did Śiśunāg turn his back upon Kāśī, than

(75) According to Bauddha books, the place of the Malla kshatriyas was the region near modern Gayā

(76) Vide previous pages of this book, and the notes No. 30., and No. 31 in chapter III.

(77) Kings were not serious about the acquisition of territories at this time; but they were serious about establishing their claims. To this motive, many other motives were added later on, i. e. family pride, religious differences etc. (In the time of king Śreṇika many wars were waged on account of the above two reasons). Vide previous pages of this book (p. 80, f. n. No. 33 and further description).

his son Kākavarṇa[78] (who was younger and weaker than Vaṅka) was defeated by Vaṅka (See the account of Kośala already given).

Thus the kings of Kośala and Kāśī were always at war with one another, and the weaker had to go to the wall. This continued for a generation or two. Sañjaya, the Kośala king, had once even reconquered Kāśī (Vide previous page No. 84.). But attacks from Magadha continued, till the time when Prasenjit came to the throne of Kośala, and Śreṇika, to the throne of Kāśī,. Peace-terms were established between them, and warfare came to an end[79]. Marriage-ties united both the kings[80], family-pride was not attached much importance, and they began to reign happily in their respective kingdoms[81]. In the time of king Kuṇika, again there arose hostility between them[82], but lasted only a short time.

Further details about king Śiśunāg

In short, the first kings of the Śiśunāga line were formerly the kings of Kāśī, and later on became the masters of Magadha also, and then there were no quarrels for the throne of Kāśī,.

Now we have to answer the following questions:—(1) Did Śiśunāg conquer the throne of Kāśī immediately after the death of Aśvasen who was the father of Pārśvanātha, and who was reigning over Kāśī in 847 B. C.? (2) If he at all came to the throne of Kāśī immediately after Aśvasen, had he any blood-relationship with him? I will discuss these two questions in the account of Magadha, because I have given there all the details about the whole of Śiśunāga dynasty.

The relation between Śiśunāg and Bṛhadratha

(78) Vide p. 84 and p. 97 of this book and f. n No. 75. "Left his son on the throne of Kāśī and went to Girivraja" (Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇa).

(79) See the account of the Kośala kings already given.

(80) In giving rise to these conditions, king Śreṇika revealed his political wisdom, social foresightedness, and ability to fulfil his own desires. See f. n. No. 76, 77, 79 above.

(81) Family pride must have been a greater cause than religious differences, because Jainism is tolerant to all other religions, and a Jaina king does not fight for religions differences. Family pride had always been a cause of quarrels and battles among kshatriyas.

(82) Vide pp. 125 and 30 B. I.

Further information

Below I have given further information about "Kamboja" or "Gāndhāra", the account of which is already given in the previous pages of this volume.

The condition of the Punjab after 465 B.C.

The Persian emperor Xerses died in 465 B. C. After his death, the hold of Persians on the Punjāb began to grow weaker and weaker. Nanda kings of Magadha invaded the country at this time, conquered it, and established their power over it. These invasions must have been made by Nandivardhan and by Mahānanda, the ninth Nanda king[1]. They had appointed the princes of the Saṃvriji family, to which they themselves belonged, as the governors of the Punjāb. These chiefs were almost independent. They continued to be so, up to the end of the reigns of the Mauryan emperors Chandragupta and Bindusāra. When Alexānder the Great invaded the country in 328 B. C., Saubhūti[2] of the Maurya—Maukhari race, (who is known by the name of Āmbhi in history)[3], was ruling over the western portion of the Punjāb which was called Gāndhāra, and Porus, a relative of the king of Vatsa[4], was ruling over the eastern portion.

Alexānder first exterminated in 331 B. C., the Achaimanidāi dynasty of the kings of Persiā, and conquered that country. Then he marched upto the boundary line of India. On this side, when the Mauryan emperor Bindusāra[5] died in 330 B. C., the chiefs who were ruling over the separate regions of the Punjāb, began to fight against one another to establish their independence. Alexānder saw this opportunity and marched over the territory of Ambhi and challenged him to war. Much to the disgrace of his

(1) See account of the Nanda family 2nd part, Chapter I of this book.

(2) Vide the chapter on coins, for figure No. 43 of this coin.

(3) His royal name was Saubhūti. He was also called "Āmbhi". Greeks called him "Sophytes—Sopheton". See his coin and notes on it, and C. I. B. Plate No, I.

(4) Vide chap. V. for the account of Vatsa.

(5) See f. n. No. 8 below.

family, he sought safety in yielding to the Greek emperor, and made his progress in India easy. Porus was the next in the field, but he did not yield or bow to Alexānder's authority. Alexānder was favourably impressed by his bravery, and established him again on his throne and expanded his territory[6]. When Alexānder went back to his own country, he placed the reins of kingdom in the hands of Porus[7], but, as a cautious step, he also left some of his officers to keep a watchful eye upon him, so that he may not be able to deceive him by being faithless like king Āmbhi (who died very wretchedly). The result was, that both these officers and these kings began to distrust one another, and once more the Punjāb became a scene of warfare and rebellion. At this time Aśoka had already been proclaimed as the emperor of Magadha[8] but his coronation ceremony had not yet taken place, and hence he took care of his own kingdom only. On this side, this mutual hatred and distrust between these Greek officers and Porus, culminated in the murder of Porus in 317 B. C., and into the subsequent establishment of the Greek power on the Punjāb[9]. Aśoka now invaded the country, drove out all these Greeks from it, within two or three years, and annexed it to the empire of Magadha. In 312 B. C. again, an officer of Alexānder, named Selucos Nekator established his kingdom in Syriā, and tried to reconquer the Indian territory, which was lost by his own people. But the chances were not in his favour, because conditions were not the same as they were at the time of the death of Bindusāra, and because he had to confront a very powerful adversary like

(6) From 320 to 317 B. C. the Punjāb was under the power of Porus.

(7) Vide chapters on Aśokavardhan for a paragraph entitled. "India under the eye of the foreigners".

(8) Many historians at present have affirmed that Alexander was a contemporary of Chandragupta, whose date they have fixed as 327 B. C. Really speaking this Chandragupta, was already dead in 358 B. C. His son Bindusāra reigned from 358 to 330 B. C Aśoka succeeded him in 330 B. C. Vide the chapters on Maurya dynasty for details.

(9) For the condition of the Punjāb. in 317 B. C. vide the chapters on Aśoka for a paragraph entitled, "India under the eye of the foreigners".

Aśoka. In spite of his invading the territory seventeen times within eight (from B. C. 312[10] to 304) years, he was defeated and had to agree to very degrading peace-terms with emperor Aśoka[11], who thus became the lord of a large territory outside India, including the modern Afghānistān. Sixty-five years after this, when emperor Priyadarśin died in 236 B. C, Indian kings lost this country for ever. Thus the Punjāb, after being ruled over by many powers, and after being time and again a scene of bloody battles, at last became the kingdom of the Bactrian people[12] (who are known as "Yons" in many historical books, and who have their origin in the mixed blood of the Greeks), the chief of which, Demetrius, became the first foreign ruler of it.

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(10) Pp. 23 C. I. B. "Eleven years after Alexānder's death, his general Seleucos founded the Seleucid kingdom of Syria".

(11) Vide chapters on Aśoka.

(12). Vide the chapter on foreign invasions to understand this fully.



Chapter V.

An account of the kingdoms (continued)

Synopsis:—*(5) Vatsa deśa—Its boundaries, capital, and the location of the territory—List of its rulers, corrections in the list with reasons for the corrections—Notes on the time of every king and short accounts of their lives—An illustration of the fact that even queens sat on the thrones and were perfect politicians—Further light on Vatsa and Avanti from the lives of the Vatsa king Udayan and his queen Vāsavadattā.—A confusion about the name Udayan, because there were three great kings of the same name almost at the same time, ruling over different countries; we being concerned with only two of them, my explanation about them—The death of Udayan without an heir and his relasion with Magadha—A discussion on the question, whether kings adopted their successors at that time.*

(6) Śrāvasti—included in the account of Kośala.

(7) Vaiśāli—Area and location—Its king, the best of the Saṃvriji—Lichchhavi kshatriyas—The marriages of all his seven daughters with seven great kings and the explanation of many historical problems arising from these marriages—The death of the king of Vaiśāli, and lessons to be taken from it.

(8) Magadha and Bang—Short notes only given here; details further on.

(9) Kuśasthala, Mahākośala, or Aṅga deśa—An explanation of the names of the Chedi dynasty connected with it—A solution of riddle of the modern place which represents the capital of Aṅga deśa (Champāpuri)—Antagonism between Vidarbha and Kuśasthala—Origin of the Chedi dynasty; incidents from the lives of king Dadhivāhan and Queen Padmāvatī—How Aṅga deśa was saved from a calamity—The origin of Gauḍa Sārasvata brahmins from the time of king Karkaṇḍu.

* * *

VATSA DEŚA

This country was situated in the south of Kośala and in the west of Kāśī. The name of its capital was Vatsapaṭṭaṇa[1] or Kauśāmbī. The name of the king was Śatānik. This country was also called "Vaṃśadeśa".[2]

The ruins of Kauśāmbī

Two small villages are seen to-day at the place where formerly was the large city of Kauśāmbī. The name of one village is Kośam-ināṃ (Rent-free), and the name of the second is Kośam-khirāj (Rent-paying). Both of them are on the bank of the river Yamunā, and around them are the ruins of a fortress[3] which must have been very strong in former times. They are twenty-eight miles from Allāhbād[4]. In

(1) Paṭṭaṇa=city. Vatsa-paṭṭaṇa means the city of the country of Vatsa. (Hemchannra, Canto IV. verse 41. F. Hall's "Vāsavadattā. pp. 4. comments). More instances are given below:—

Lalit-paṭṭaṇa in Nepāl; Aṇahil-paṭṭaṇa in Gujrāt: Vītabhaya-paṭṭaṇa in Sindh; Deva-paṭṭaṇa in Saurāṣṭra, Kālumbe-paṭṭaṇa in Karel (which is now called Quilon). In Kalpasūtra commentaries pp. 59 it is stated that the place to which we can travel by land only is called Paṭṭaṇa, and the place to which we can travel both by land and sea is called Droṇa.

(2) Vide B. I. pp. 7 (Vide the chapters on Kaliṅga; for knowing which country can truly be given the name of Vaṃśādeśa).

(3) Vide the account of Queen Padmāvatī, further in this volume.

(4) Vide pp. 20 introduction, Vol. I., A. C. I. "modern Kośam is on the left bank of the Jamnā, twenty-eight miles west by south from Allāhbād".

the north-west of these villages, not very far from them, is a holy hill named Prabhās[5], which is a place of pilgrimage In the hill there is a big cave, and in the cave there is an inscription which contains the name of king Bṛhaspatimitra, who may possibly be the same individual, whose name is mentioned in the famous inscriptions of Hāthigumfā in the country of Kaliṅga, and who is said to have been defeated by emperor Khārvel of Kaliṅga. This fortress must have been a great centre of military preparations. It is 80 miles in the north-east of Bhārhut (which has been very famous on account of containing Bhārhut-stūpa). The area of the fortress is nearly four miles, and the average height of its walls is 30 to 35 feet. There are many turrets and spires in the eastern wall. From the coins[6] that have been found in the ruins, we can conjecture that this place must have been a great trade-centre, and must have been frequently visited by great merchants from distant countries, and many travellers from Kośala in the north and Magadha in the east.

There were four suburbs[7] in ancient Kauśāmbī. (1) Badrik, (2) Kukkuta, (3) Ghosilā park, (4) the Mango grove. Veṇugrām must also have been a small suburb. A certain Ben-purva (Bamboo-town), which is in the north-east of Kośala, and from where its present land-lord found out old brick-work and foundation-stones while digging the ground, might also have been a suburb of Kauśāmbī.

Vide pp. 36 B. I "30 leagues=230 miles by river from Benāres".

C. H. I. pp. 525 "It seems to have been on the south bank of the Jamnā at a point about 400 miles by road from Ujjain and about 230 miles upstream from Benāres"

Mr Dey in his "Ancient Geography of India" Pt. II, says that this place was the same as Bithā, a small village about 11 miles in the south-west of Allāhbād. I think it is a mistake, because he says that its original name was Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇa, which was the capital of Udāyan, king of Sindh-sauvīra, and not the capital of Udayan, the king of Vatsa.

(5) The other name is "Pabosā".

(6) Vide the chapter on coins in vol. II. for the coins of Kauśāmbī.

(7) B. I. pp. 36.

In J. O. B. R. S. (Vol. I. pp. 114) the following list[8] of the names * of the kings of Vatsa is given:—

Kings of Vatsa.	Contemporary kings of Magadha.
(1) Sutīrth	Śiśunāg
(2) Ruch	Kākavarṇ
(3) Chitraksh	Kshemvardhan
(4) Sukhilal; Sahasraṇik	Kshemjit
(5) Paraṇtap Śatānik, and Jayanti[9] (daughter)	Śreṇik and Kuṇik
(6) Udayan[10] and a daughter[11]	Udāyin Bhata
(7) Medhavin or Maṇiprabh	Mund, and first Nand
(8) Daṇdapāṇi[12]	Second Nand
(9) Kśemak[12]	(Defeated by Mahānand)

Though the above list is open to correction, yet it reflects much credit on the writer of the article, for giving us an unbroken line of names, this list, as far as I know, has not been published anywhere else.

It is possible that the sons of king Kśemak, might have migrated to the Punjāb and established their colony there. The natives of Vatsa were called Pauravas[13] and made themselves known in the Punjāb by the same name. One of the kings was Porus who has been very much famous in history, and who had

(8) J. O. B, R. S. Vol. I. pp. 114. Only names are given there. I have put more information side by side to make it possible for the reader to compare and contrast them.

* For their dynastic name, vide infra f. n. no. 13.

(9) See f. n. no. 15 below.

(10) He had married Padmāvatī, the daughter of Kuṇik of Magadha, and Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Chaṇḍapradyot, king of Avanti.

(11) This princess was married to Nāgadaśak, the commander-in-chief of Udāyin, the king of Magadha. Later on, he had been given the name of Nandivardhan, the first Nanda king.

(12) See f. n. no. 23 below.

(13) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 89—"The Paurava line of Kośāmbī continued for three generations after Udayan's son". (Udayan of Vatsa died without an heir. We shall prove this later on. The author of the above statement might have meant three successors and not sons).

opposed the great Greek invader Alexānder, and then had become his vassel and friend.

Its ruling family

It is said that the kings of Vatsa were highly cultured and educated[1]. Many of them were not born of pure kshatriya women.

I have said above, that the list is open to corrections; I now try to make them.

Corrections in the list

Correction No. 1:—No. 5 in the list is Paraṇatap Śatānik, and he is stated to have been a contemporary to king Śreṇik. Now Śreṇik's number in his own line is sixth. Again, the founder of the Śiśunāga dynasty and the founder of king Paraṇatap's family have been stated to be contemporaries. If the founders of both the families were contemporaries, No. 6 in the one line must reasonably have been a contemporary of No. 6 in the other, and not of No. 5. Again, Sukhilal, the fourth Vatsa king has been stated to be a contemporary of the fourth Magadha king, Kśemjit. Is it possible that Paraṇatap alone might have been a contemporary of both the fifth and the sixth kings of Magadha, Prasenjit and Śreṇik? It is possible only, if the tenures of the reigns of these two kings are short. But I shall prove later on, that the fifth king of Magadha reigned for forty-one years, and the sixth reigned for fifty-two years. Hence, if Sukhilal is taken as the fourth Vatsa king, and Paraṇatap Śatānik as the sixth, we shall have to find out the fifth Vatsa king, who can be a contemporary of the fifth king of Magadha, Prasenjit.

If we have a look at the Jaina books, we shall come to know, that king Śatānik is called there "Śatānik" only and not "Paraṇatap Śatānik". It is possible therefore that Paraṇatap and Śatānik might have been two different individuals. Again there is a semicolon between Sukhilal and Sahasraṇik (who has been stated to be a contemporary of Kśemjit, the fourth king of Magadha); hence a doubt arises whether these two names represent two different individuals, or only one. So we have three ways of introducing a new king:

(14) Vide pp. 7, 8, of Purātattva, Vol, II.

(i) either Sukhilal and Sahasraṇik were two different individuals; (ii) or, Paraṇatap and Śatānik were two different individuals; (iii) or, the introduction of a new king between the fourth and the sixth, as stated in the paragraph, above. To my mind the solution lies in the removal of the semicolon, and making Sukhilal, the fourth king, Sahasraṇik Paraṇatap[15] the fifth king, and Śatānik the sixth king. Udayan would be No. 7, and he would be the son of Śatānik, and the grandson of Sahasraṇik Paraṇatap. In Jaina books the relationship stated between them is the same as above[16].

Correction No. 2:—In the list, Udayan is stated to be the sixth king, a son-in-law of Kuṇik, the king of Magadha, and a contemporary of Udāyin, the son of Kuṇik. Thus Udayan, the king of Vatsa, becomes the brother-in-law of Udāyin, the king of Magadha. We can agree so far, but we do not know, what to say, when we are confronted with the statement that the daughter of Śatānik, and sister of Udayan of Vatsa was married with king Nāgadarśak or Nandivardhan. If this marriage were a fact, Nandivardhan's queen's age would far exceed that of Nandivardhan himself, which is almost impossible[17]. A more reasonable way is to make Nandivardhan, the son-in-law of Udayan, and not of his father, Śatānik[18].

Correction No. 3:—No. 8 in the list has been stated to be a contemporary of the second Nanda king, and No. 9 to be a

(15) The following statement proves that Paraṇatap–Sahasraṇik was the name of one individual only. In a Jaina book entitled "Bharateśvara Bāhubali Vṛtti" (pp. 233) it is stated, "The king of Kośāmbī was Udayan, who was a grandson of king Sahasraṇik (i. e. son of Śatānik), who was the son of king Śatānik by his queen Mṛgāvatī, whose mother was the daughter of king Cheṭak, and who was a nephew of Jayantī. (Thus Udayan is introduced to us by four different relationships, first of which states him to be the grand-son of king Sahasraṇik. Moreover, in "Sahasraṇik Paraṇatap", Sahasraṇik might be the name proper, and Paraṇatap an additional introductory title.).

(16) See f. n. no. 15 above, relationship No. 1.

(17) Vide chapters on Nanda dynasty for king Nandivardhan's duration of life.

(18) Which we shall prove in another way also.

contemporary of the ninth Nanda king, who is said to have conquered the kingdom of Vatsa. This is impossible; because, as I will prove later on[19], that the country of Vatsa was annexed to Magadha by the first Nanda king Nandivardhan. It would therefore be more reasonable to affirm that the eighth and the ninth Vatsa kings reigned only for a short time, and that they were both contemporaries of Nandivardhan, who had been very famous for his bravery, and hence who might have also been called Mahānand by ancient writers because he was the founder of the Nanda dynasty.

The corrections being over, we shall now proceed with another similarly perplexing item, i. e. their dates.

How to fix their dates

(No. 1 to 5). In the above list the first five Vatsa kings have been stated respectively to be the contemporaries of the first five Śiśunāga kings. This means that the tenures of the reigns of these kings must have almost been of nearly equal durations.

(6) Though Śatānik has been stated to be a contemporary of the sixth Śiśunāga king Śreṇik, yet he died many years before Śreṇik, who has been proved to have died in 528 B. C.[20], or 2 B. M.* Moreover, Śatānik's son Udayan had invaded Avanti, and had carried away by force, Vāsavdattā, the daughter of its king Chaṇḍapradyot, who, in the end, became his father-in-law. This means that Udayan had become king of Vatsa during the life time of Chaṇḍapradyot, and was old enough to carry away the daughter of a cunning and clever king like him.

We shall later on prove that the death of Chaṇḍapradyot had taken place in the November of 527 B. C, i. e. a year and a half later than the death of Śreṇik. This proves that Udayan must have ascended the throne before 527 B. C. Now that Udayan ascended the throne proves that his father Śatānik had died at that time. We shall also prove that when king Śatānik died,

(19) In the coins of Vatsa, signs of the first and second Nanda kings, are found.

(20) For this year 528, vide chapter on Śreṇik.

* B. M. means before Mahāvīr.

Udayan was only six or seven years old, and hence his widow-mother Mrgāvatī had taken in her hands the reins of the kingdom. If we grant that Udayan was nearly thirty years old at the time of king Chaṇḍ's death, his year of birth will be 527+30= 557 B. C., and king Śatānik's reign came to an end in 550 B. C., because Udayan's age at the time of his father's death was seven.

(7–8) Queen Mrgāvatī acted as a regent of the kingdom during the minority of Udayan, who was crowned king at the age of fourteen. Thus the Queen's reign lasted from 550 to 543–2 B. C., and then Udayan began to reign.

It is obvious that Udayan's reign lasted long, because he came to the throne at so early an age, and hence he was a contemporary of Śreṇik, of Kuṇik (who was his father-in-law), and of Kuṇik's son Udāyin also. This Udāyin of the Śiśunāga dynasty has ascended the throne in 496 B. C. If we take the year of the death of Udayan of Vatsa to be five or six years after this, it comes to 490 B. C. So Udayan's reign lasted fifty–three years, from 543 to 490 B. C.

(9) Medhavin or Maṇiprabh succeeded him on the throne. This Maṇiprabh belonged to the Pradyota family of Avanti, but had come to the throne of Vatsa, due to certain reasons. He later on took hold of the throne of Avanti, and only a few years after this, Nandivardhan of Magadha, annexed this country to the kingdom of Magadha, in about 467 B. C. This means that reigns of Medhavin, and his two successors Kśemak and Daṇḍapāṇin, in all lasted twenty–three years, from 490 to 467 B. C. We may distribute these twenty–three years among them any way we like.

Now I give below a correct list of the names and dates of these Vatsa kings:—

1. Surath	Contemporary of	Śiśunāg[21]	about 60 years.
2. Ruch	„ „	Kākavarṇa[21]	about 40 years.
3. Chitraksh	„ „	Kśemavardhan[21]	about 45 years.

(21) Vide the account of Śiśunāga dynasty for the dates of these five kings.

4. Sukhilal	contemporary of Kśemjit[21]		about 40 years.
5. Sahasraṇik Paraṇatap	„ „ Prasenjit[21]		about 45 years.
6. Śatānik	566 to 550 B. C.[22]	16	
7. Queen Mṛgāvatī	550 to 543 B. C.[22]	7	
8. Udayan	543 to 497 B. C.[22]	54	
9. Medhavin or, Danḍapāṇin and Kśemak	490 to 497 B. C.[23]	23	
	Total years	340	

No information is forthcoming about the first five kings, except that the fifth king Sahasraṇik had a son named Śatānik and a daughter named Jayantī, who was a devout Jain,[24] and was one of the favourite lay-disciples of Mahāvīr.

Short accounts of the kings

The duration of the sixth king Śatānik's reign was nearly sixteen years. He did not die very old, because his death was due to an accident[25]. Taking all circumstances into consideration, he may be said to have died at the age of thirty-five[26]. Thus he must have been born in 585 B. C. He was married to Mṛgāvatī, the fourth of the seven daughters[27]

Śatānik

(22) We shall prove the veracity of this date, when we shall come to fixing the age of Queen Mṛgāvatī (Vide the account of Vaiśālī). In Kalpa Sūtra commentary pp. 91, it is stated that when Mahāvīr came to Kauśāmbī in 567 B. C., Śatānik was on the throne. We may safely believe him to have ascended the throne in 570 B. C.

(23) According to my opinion, Medhavin was the last king, but, as I have already stated before, we cannot be quite certain about it, because no list of chronological names of the Vatsa kings, has yet been found.

(24) Vide pp. 341—3 of the translation of "Bharateśvara Bāhubali Vṛtti" 3rd. ed.; wherein she is stated to have given a lodging place to Mahāvīr.

(25) Read f. n. No. 31 below.

(26) Read f. n. No. 27 below. We shall describe it in the account of Vaiśālī.

(27) Read the account of Vaiśālī for the names of all these seven daughters, and also for the names of the kings with whom they were married. I have discussed these things in detail therein, because the dates of many historical events can be fixed with their help.

of King Cheṭak. This queen gave birth to a son named Udayan who succeeded his father on the throne.

Śatānik was very fond of fine arts, and had a favourite painter at his court. Once this painter was driven out of his court by king Śatānik due to some reason[28]. The painter kindled with a mad desire for revenge, went to king Chaṇḍapradyot of Avanti, and presented to him a lifelike picture of queen Mṛgāvatī painted by himself. King Chaṇḍapradyot was bewitched by her beauty and sent a message to king Śatānik that either he should hand over his queen to him or must be prepared for war. No kshatriya would agree to such a mean, hateful demand. Śatānik was a brave king, and though his kingdom of Vatsa was smaller than the kingdom of Avanti, he prepared himself to fight against him[29]. While the war was going on, he succumbed to cholera[30] and died[31]. His death must have taken place in 550 B. C. i. e. some years after Mahāvīr's acquiring Kaivalyagnāna. (Read the paragraph below).

King Śatānik had invaded the country of King Dadhivāhan[32] of the neighbouring country of Aṅgadeśa in 557 * B. C. Dadhi-

(28) Vide pp. 330 of Bharateśvara. B. Vṛtti (translation). 3rd. ed.

(29) It is necessary here to state that one daughter of Cheṭak, named Śivādevī, was married with Chaṇḍapradyot, and another was married with king Śatānik. Chaṇḍa paid no attention to the fact that he was trying to get his queen's own sister. (cf. f. n. No. 32; there it is stated that woman is the common cause of quarrel).

(30) That such epidemic diseases existed in those times, is indicated here.

(31) Pp. 331., of Bharateśvara. B. Vṛtti (Translation). It is stated therein that his illness was due to undesirable consequences of the war. But I think this to be far from possible, because, though Śatānik was the king of a small country, yet he was brave. He had once invaded and plundered Champāpurī, the capital of Aṅgadeśa. That such a brave king must have been so seriously shocked as to become so dangerously ill, seems impossible; in the same book, it is stated elsewhere that he died of cholera.

(32) Dadhivāhan was also married to one of the daughters of Cheṭak, king of Vaiśālī. Thus, Śatānik, and Dadhivāhan were related. Cf. f. n. No. 29 above, to see what was cause of war here—woman or land?).

* This was a mere guess at first: now it appears to be the fact; because, from 3 to 6 months after the plunder, the girl-captive Vasumatī has

vāhan left his capital Champānagarī, and ran away in the forest; while Ṣatānik plundered and ruined it[33], and imprisoned queen Dhāriṇī[34] and her daughter Vasumatī, (who was about thirteen or fourteen years old); and after ordering his officers to bring them to Kauśāmbī, returned to his own country. These officers tried to rape Dhāriṇī, who committed suicide for the sake of her chastity. Princess Vasumatī alone was brought to Kanśāmbī; she was later on given the name of Chandanbālā, who only after a short time, became a Jaina nun, when Mahāvīr acquired Kaivalyagnān in 556 B. C.[35].

After this invasion, king Ṣatānik must have reigned happily for five to seven years, and then died due to the incident of the painter, already stated above, in 550 B. C.

The responsibility of conducting the administration of the kingdom was taken up by Queen Mṛgāvatī because prince Udayan was a minor[36]. She had to face many difficulties; she knew that her beauty was the cause of the enmity between Śatānik and Chandapradyot, and the untimely death of Śatānik; she had to pay attention to

Queen Mṛgāvatī

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been consecrated as a Jaina nun & made the head of the Nun-order of Lord Mahāvīr, at the time of his getting Kaivalyagnān in May-556 B. C. (see below).

(33) This Champānagarī was in Angadeśa, and it was at the place where at present are the towns of Jubulpore and Satnā Read the account of Angadeśa for further information. It is necessary to state here that the original Champānagarī was destroyed in 557 B. C. (The one which is at present in the Bhāgalpur district of Bengal is different from this). Three years after Kuṇik came to the throne, he got it repaired and rebuilt, and made it his capital. (525 B. C.). So the old and the modern Champānagarī have no connection whatsoever with each other.

Now we can affirm that Champānagarī remained in a ruined condition from 557 to 525 B. C. i. e. 32 years.

(34) This Dhāriṇī was another queen, because the name of Chetak's daughter who married Dadhivāhan was Padmāvatī.

(35) Vide pp. 260 Bharateśvara B. V.

(36) Vide ibid. pp., 323.

all the affairs connected with the administration of the country; she had to be in constant danger of being again invaded by king Chaṇḍa. She kept patience. Only a few months after the death of Ṣatānik, king Chaṇḍa besieged Kauśāmbī and again repeated his challenge of either yielding to his animal desires or preparing for war. Mrgāvatī sought safety in deceit and tact. She sent a reply to the effect, that she was ready to do as he wished, but requested him to wait till her son Udayan might attain majority and be crowned king by him Chaṇḍa was appeased by this reply and having raised the seige went back to his own country. Queen Mṛgāvatī then hastened to fortify Kauśāmbī strongly with fortresses[37] and ditches Everything was ready within seven years, when[38] Udayana attained majority and was ready to be crowned. King Chaṇḍapradyot was informed of these fortifications and preparations, and shaking with rage, he again marched towards Kauśāmbī with an army. Mrgāvatī was fully prepared, and ordered the city-gates to be closed. The seige of Kauśāmbī began, and people began to be heavily persecuted. Mahāvīr heard about this (he had acquired Kaivalyagnān by this time, and so might have known it without external aid); and he came to Kauśāmbī to prevent the war and the destruction of thousands of men. Both Chaṇḍa and Mrgāvatī were very much devoted to him. Mahāvīr persuaded them to stop the warfare, and arranged for the coronation ceremony of Udayan by the hand of Chaṇḍa. This event took place in 543 B. C. Queen Mrgāvatī and Queen Ṣivādevī of Chaṇḍa, became Jaina nuns under Mahāvīr[39], and Chaṇḍa, returned to his own capital. The reign of Mrgāvatī thus lasted from 550 to 543 B. C.

When king Ṣatānik died in 550 B. C., Udayan's age was six or seven. This means that he must have been born in 557 B. C., or thereabout. He came to throne at the age of thirteen

(37) Vide ibid. Translation pp. 323.

(38) The ruins which we see to-day near the Prabhās hill are the ruins of this fortress.

(39) Vide pp. 325 of Bharateśvara, B. Vṛtti Translation.

or fourteen[40] in 543 B. C. As he grew older he came to know how Chaṇḍa[41] had persecuted and harassed his parents. He felt the insult deeply and decided to take revenge upon him. At the same time he thought that tact rather than might would be more effective against a cunning king like Chanda. Knowing that king Chaṇḍa was very fond of elephant-hunting[42], he began to practise it himself and made himself proficient in it in a short time[43]. Then he purposely began to trespass over the boundary of Avanti. Chaṇḍa's attention was drawn towards this audacity of Udayan.

Udayan

How Udayan carried away by force, Vāsavadattā, the dear daughter of Chaṇḍa is fully described in a play entitled "Vāsavadattā"[44]; hence it needs no repetition here. This event took place a few years before the death of Chaṇḍa who died in 527 B. C. on the same night on which Mahāvīr died[45]. This means that the marriage of Vāsavadattā with Udayan might have taken place about 535 B. C. i. e. seven or eight years after his coming to the throne[46], and seven or eight years before the death of Chaṇḍa. Hence Vāsavadattā must not have been the first queen, because Udayan must have married some princess immediately after his coming to the throne. So Vāsavadattā was his second

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(40) Fourteen was the year of the attainment of majority at this time. For instance (1) Mahāvīr had married at the age of 14, (2) King Śreṇik ascended the throne at the age of 14, (3) King Priyadarśin was crowned at the age of 14.

(41) Udayan's mother Mṛgāvatī, and Chaṇḍa's chief queen Śivādevī were sisters. So Chaṇḍa was the uncle of Udayan on the mother's side.

(42) Analgiri was the name of the favourite elephant of Chanda. Read the account of Avanti for details.

(43) "Purātattva" Vol. II, pp. 405.

(44) See Mr. Hall's edition of "Vāsavadattā". All details are given there.

(45) Vide the account of Avanti.

(46) Eight years are the proper time, because Udayan must have taken that much time in being proficient in elephant-hunting.

queen. He had also married king Kuṇik's daughter Padmāvatī[47].

(47) "Padmāvatī, wife of Udayan, was the sister of king Darśak". (E.H.I. by Smith. 3rd edi. pp. 39). Darśak is but another name of king Kuṇik (Vide chapters on him), whose sister means the daughter of king Śreṇik. They must have been born of the same mother, otherwise Padmāvatī might have been introduced as "King Śreṇika's daughter", and not as "Darśak's sister". Udayan married thrice, once in 543 B. C., then in 535 B. C. and then in 520 B. C. When did he marry Darśak's sister? Was it the first or the third marriage? It could not have been the second, because it was with Vāsavadattā. Now king Śreṇika died in 528 B. C. So his daughter must have been married to Udayan in 541 B. C. (because she must have at least been thirteen at the time of her marriage and this was generally the age when princesses were married at that time). Generally a prince is married immediately after he ascends the throne. Again queen Mṛgāvatī became a nun in 543 B. C. Hence the marriage must have taken place before 543 B. C. i. e. before she became a nun).

Again it is in the fitness of things, that the daughter of the king of Magadha might have been married to the king of a famous country like Vatsa, immediately after his coming to the throne. Now the princess who was married with Udayan in 543 B. C. must have been born in 555-6 B. C. King Kuṇik was born in 557 B. C. Hence we come to the conclusion that both Kuṇik and Padmāvatī were born of Chillaṇā, Śreṇik's queen, and that Kuṇik was a year older than Padmāvatī.

Thus Kuṇik's brother-in-law's name was Udayan and his own son's name was also Udayan, who became famous as "Udayāśva". Though these two Udayans (because Udayan and Udayaśva are taken by historians as the same name) were contemporaries, yet the king of Vatsa was many years senior in age to the Udayan of Magadha. Udayan of Vatsa was born in 557 B. C., and Udayan of Magadha was born in 534 B. C. There are two objections to the above conclusions —(i) Udayan of Vatsa has been stated to have married Śreṇik and Chillaṇā's daughter Padmāvatī. Now Chillaṇā and Udayan's mother Mṛgāvatī were sisters. How could they have married when they were cousins? (We have no information about the customs prevailing at that time. We can not find out any similar historical event). (ii) If the first queen was the sister of Kuṇik, who was the third queen? No history-book tells us that Udayan married the daughter of any other king. The only way to remove these two objections is to accept that the third queen was the daughter of the king of Magadha, and not the first This is possible if we take it for granted that it was the "daughter" and not the "sister" of king Darśak, who was married with Udayan. This last conclusion is supported by the following facts: (i) The

Udayan, thus, in all had three queens[48]. He married the first in 543 B. C., at the age of fourteen, the second in 535 at the age of twenty two, and the third in or about 520 at the age of thirty-six i. e. eight years after Kunik became the emperor of Magadha.

His death did not take place under normal conditions. King Udayan was very much devoted to religion[49]. Even in his advanced age he had not become the father of a son. He used to spend the major part of a day in religious performances. Once he insulted a servant of his, who went to Avanti and decided to take revenge upon him. For this, he became a Jaina monk and after some time came to Kauśāmbī with his preceptor, and there

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daughter of Udayan who was married to king Nandivardhan, was born in 494 B. C. (Vide the account of Nandivardhan). She must have been born of the third queen, because the first two queens had already become too old to give birth to children by this time, (ii) Secondly, queen Vāsavadattā had adopted a son in 503 B. C., and she was the chief queen, even though she was the second in number; which proves that the first queen was dead by this time. (Vide the account of Nandivardhan in the chapter on Avanti). She would not have adopted any one if she had a daughter, married or unmarried in 503 B. C. This proves that the third queen of Udayan of Vatsa was a daughter of a king of Magadha, and she must have been a daughter of Kuṇik, and a sister of his son Udayan. If we want to stick to Mr. Smith's statement that she was the "sister" of Darśak, we shall have to take Darśak to be the name of Udayan and not of Kuṇik. But it is a proved fact that Darśak was the name of Kuṇik and none else. So this third queen was the daughter and not the sister of Darśak. (iii) That queen Vāsavadattā adopted a new-born child in 503 B. C., proved that king Udayan had no issue upto 503 B. C. Now by 494 B. C, when the princess was born, Vāsavadattā's age must have been 55, (she was married in 535 i. e. born in 549 B. C.), which is not the likely age of becoming a mother. The third queen Padmāvatī was only 40 in 494 B. C.

Hence, we come to the conclusion that the daughter of the king of Magadha was the third queen of king Udayan. Vide the account of king Nandivardhan for more proofs.

(48) C. H. I. pp. 187. "He had three wives". (In E H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 39, f. n. No. 1.; short notes are given on the first two queens).

(49) For details see Bharateśvara. B. V. Translation.

he began to frequent the "Posadhasala"[50] (place of religious performances) to help the king in religious performances. One night, the king, this deceitful monk, and his preceptor were sleeping in the "Posadhasālā". During the night, he murdered the king with a knife and eacaped, throwing the knife there. The king's blood flowed upto the place where the preceptor had slept; who soon awoke to find the king murdered, and his disciple absent. He understood everything, and killed himself with the same knife so that he, as a monk, might not stain his religion by being called the murderer of a king. King Udayan's death took place in or about 490[51] B. C., because he was alive in 496 B. C. When his brother-in-law Udāyin was crowned king of Magadha[52].

He was born in 557 B. C. and he died in 490 B. C. i. e. the duration of his life was 68 years. He had no issue[53], except

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(50) Some are of the opinion that Udayan of Magadha and Udayan of Vasta were followers of Buddhism. For the religion of the Udayan of Magadha vide his account. About the second Udayan it is stated, ("Purātattva" Vol. II, p. 5). "King Udayan was not a devout Bauddha, but his people were". We are not concerned with the people here. But the quotation proves that the king was not a devout follower of Buddhism. Jaina books claim the whole Vatsa family to be in their fold. Not only this, but Udayan's father's (Śatānik's) sister Jayanti has been stated to have been a great devotee of Śree Pārśva (possibly of Mahāvīr. See f. n. No. 24 above). I have used the typical Jaina word "Pośadhaśālā" here, for this reason only. This also proves that he was himself a devout Jain.

(51) I had fixed it as 490 B. C. which was supported by further study. (Vide the account of Avanti to know how Maniprabh became the ruler of Avanti, after leaving Kauśāmbí).

(52) Vide previous pages of this chapter.

(53) Jaina books state that Udayan of Magadha died without an heir, and Udayan of Vatsa was murdered. There is some confusion here (because the historians have taken both Udayan & Udayāśva as one name—see supra f. n no. 47).

That both the above things happened to the king of Vatsa is supported by the following reasons:—(1) Udayan of Magadha had two sons named Anuruddha and Mund who succeeded him on the throne. (2) Bharateśvara B. V. Translation, it is stated that he went on a pilgrimage after giving the reins of the kingdom

a daughter who was married to Nāgdaśak, or king Nandivardhan the first Nand king, after his death[54].

He reigned from 543 to 490 B. C. i. e. 53 years.

King Medhavin or Maṇiprabh

As king Udayan died leaving no son behind him, the child who was adopted by Vāsavadattā, succeeded him on the throne. But this Medhavin was later on found to be the son of the king of Avanti (who was a cousin of queen Vāsavadattā), and he became the king of Avanti in 487 B. C.[55]. Thus he began to reign peacefully over Avanti and Vatsa both. But in 472 B. C. Nandivardhan came to the throne of Magadha, and he invaded the country of Vatsa[56]. As a result, Vatsa was annexed by him to the empire of Magadha in 467 B. C. Thus the reign of Medhavin over Kauśāmbī lasted from 490 to 467 B. C. i. e. 23 years.

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in the hands of his son. Thus the Jaina books contradict one another. (3) Avanti would be nearer to a man who had run away, from Vatsa than from Magadha.

Vide Part II chapter III for further information.

The reason of the Jaina books stating Udayāśva of Magadha instead of Udayan of Vatsa dying without an heir seems to be, that there were three Udayans at that time, and all the three were Jains, and rulers of great kingdoms. Of course the Udayan of Sindh–Sauvīra died when the other two Udayans were minors. The confusion in Jaina books might have been due to the similarity of names. In reality Udayan of Magadha is called Udayāśva that of Sindh, Udāyin, while that of Vatsa simple Udayan.

(54) Hitherto, I am of the opinion that Udayan's daughter was only three or four years old at the time of his death. He died at the age of 67, and hence he must have been 63 at the time of the birth of his daughter which seems a bit awkward. But it is no wonder when we remember and know that Śākyasiṁha Gautama's father's age was yet more advanced at the time of his birth.

(55) Vide the account of Avanti for further information.

(56) It is possible that he might not have invaded Avanti, but annexed it to his own kingdom because the king of Avanti had died without an heir, and because he had claim to the throne.

(6) ŚRĀVASTĪ

As this country forms a part of the kingdom of Kośala, it needs no separate account.

(7) VAIŚĀLĪ

According to Bauddha books, the area of this country was nearly 5,000 Li.[57–58], and the area of its capital was 60 to 70 Li. It is 38 miles in the north of Rājgṛhī, the capital of Magadha, and 25 miles in the north of the river Ganges[59]. Vaiśālī consisted of the modern districts of Champāraṇya[60] Saraṇ, Mujfarpur, and Darbhaṅgā in Behār. In ancient times it was all called by the name of Videha[61], the capital of which was Mithilā, a king of which was the father of Sītā, the wife of Rāma, king of Ayodhyā[62].

Introductory remarks

At present we see two small villages at the place where stood the ancient town of Vaiśālī. The name of one is Besārh[63] and the name of the other is Bekhār[64]. One writer has fixed

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(57) Li=1.10 mile nearly and also 1.7 mile.

(58) R. W. W. Vol. II pp. 66.

(59) B. I. pp. 41.

(60) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 76. It forms a part of the Champāran district.

(61) Bud. Ind. pp. 25. "They include eight confederated clans, of whom Lich-chhavis and Videha were the most important".

Also vide "Purātattva" Vol. I. pp. 147 and further. From the boundaries of Videha given in Dey's "Ancient Geography of India", it becomes evident that Videha and Vaiśālī were the same.

(62) She is called "Videhā" because she was the daughter of the king of Videha. The kings of Videha were called "Videhi". Similarly Chetak, king of Vaiśālī, is called "Videhapati" (king of Videha), and his sister Triśalādevī, the mother of Mahāvīr, is also called "Videhā" in the Jaina books (Vide pp. 75: Kalpa S. Com.).

(63) For full particulars of excavations of this historical place vide Archeological Survey Report of India by Sir Cunningham 1903-4, pp. 81-122.

(64) Vide Arch. Survey India, 1880-81.

the place of Bēsārh as 18 miles in the north of Hājipur, a town in the district of Tirhut (Mujfarpur), on the left bank of the river Gaṇḍak[65]. He also states that the territory of the Hājipur district, which is at present called Besārh, is nothing but the ancient Vaiśālī, because of the similarity of the two names. The description of Bekhār is more interesting than that of Besārh.[66] In the north-west of Bekhār was a stūpa built by Aśoka. There was also there a commemoration stone-pillar, 50 to 60 feet high and having a carved lion at the top. In the south of this pillar, there was a pond. This great stone-pillar is near the village of Kochuā, which is two miles in the north-west of Besārh, and a mile in the south-east of Bekhār, and is called the "Lāta" (or the everlasting) pillar of 'Bekhār'. This pillar to-day represents the ruins of the famous old city of Vaiśālī. It is the best among all pillars with a lion at the top. This capital of Vaiśālī had three[67] fortresses, each within the bow-shot or *gāvuta*[68] of the other. 7707[69] Lichchhavi-chiefs or rājās lived in it. These three fortresses,

(65) Dey's Ant. Geography of India pp. 98.

(66) Arch. Sur. India. 1880-81. p, 18. It is written therein as follows:—

"To the north-west of Bekhar, there was a stupa built by Aśoka, and a stone-pillar, 50 to 60 feet in height crowned by a lion. To the south of the pillar there was a tank; near the village of Kochuā 12 miles to the N. W. of Besārh and a mile to the S. E. of the village of Bekhar, stands the massive stone-pillar, known as Bekhar Lāt or Monolith. The pillar evidently formed a part of the ancient monuments of the famous city of Vaiśālī. The pillar is the heaviest of all the lion monoliths; the capital city has three walls, each of them a gavuta distant from the next, and of the 7707 Rājās, that is Lichhavi Chiefs, who dwelt there. The above-said three walls encircled within its precincts the three parās (suburbs) of the city, named Vāṇijyagrām (suburb inhabited by the commercial community) in the north, Brāhamankuṇḍgrām (the part inhabited by brāhmins) in the middle, and Kshatriyakuṇḍ-grām (the part inhabited by kshatriyas) or shortly called kuṇḍgrām in the south."

(67) B. I. pp. 41 (This is stated on the authority of Jātak-vārtā vol. I, pp. 389).

(68) Vide ibid pp. 504. It is stated therein that "Gāvuta" means the distance upto which the call of a cow is heard.

(69) Ibid Vol. I. pp. 504. For "Rājāh" vide Chapter I of this book.

also included in them, the three suburbs called Vāṇijyagrām[70] (in which lived the merchants), Brāhmaṇ-kuṇḍagrām (in which lived the brāhmins), and Kshatriya-kuṇḍagrām (in which lived the kshatriyas).

The royal family

In connection with the ruling families of certain countries already described, we get a chronological list of the names of their kings from the very beginning, i. e. from the name of the founder of the family. The case with Vaiśālī is different. We do not get even scattered names of its kings, not to talk of a connected list. We have at our command the name of one king only. He was Cheṭak; who was a contemporary of both Buddha and Mahāvīr. From certain descriptions, we can conjecture that the palace of this king must have been in the extreme south of Kshatriya-kuṇḍagrām. He had descended from the Lichchhavi branch of the Vrijji kshatriyas.[71] This clan of kshatriyas consisted of nine branches and each was called "Saṃvijja" (Sam=together, and Vijja=united), and Chetak was considered the leader of all the nine, either due to his belonging to a high family, or due to the greater area of his kingdom[72]. He was also their social leader or headman[73].

(70) Read my article in "Jaina Dharma Prakāsh" (published from Bhāvnagar) Vol. 47. No. 7. pp. 267 to 268, for the description of Vaiśālī.

(71) R. W. W. Vol. I. pp. 77 f. n. No. 100. "The country of the Vrijis or Saṃvrijjis (united Vrijjis) was that of the confederated eight tribes (According to the Jaina books they are nine-my words) of the people called Vrijjis; one of which (that of Lichchhavi) dwelt at Vaiśālī. Their country is broad from west to east and narrow from north to south". (Vide also f. n. No. 65 on the preceeding page).

(72) The area of the kingdom was smaller than the areas of other kingdoms. The respect he commanded must have been due to his belonging to a high family, or to his being very old, or due to the many admirable virtues that he possessed.

(73) Kalpa S. Com. pp. 102 "The kings of Kāśī and Kośala were the vassals of Cheṭak" Politically, this does not sound probable, because neither the king of Kāśī, nor of Kośala were under the sway of Cheṭak. But the king of Kāśī (who was also the king Magadha) was a kshatriya belonging to the

Chetak was very famous as a skilful archer[74]. He never missed his aim; and it is said that he never aimed twice on the same day[75]. He was highly attached to religion. There also he had taken a vow, not to give any of his daughters in marriage to a king who did not follow Jainism. For this reason only, he had to wage war against Śreṇik, the king of Magadha (Vide the account of Śreṇik). Chetak had no son, but he had seven daughters[76] who were married to great kings without breaking his vow. The details of these seven princesses would form a very interesting chapter, but they can have no place here, because we are not concerned with them. But I shall have to narrate them briefly here, because every one of them was married to a great king, and thus details about them, help much in finding the ages of these kings, and fixing the dates of the events that had taken place during the reigns of these kings.

Names of the seven princesses and short notes on their husbands

King Chetak had many queens. He had become the father of seven daughters who were born of different queens. We can not say whether any two or three of them were born of the same mother. One of them, Prabhāvatī[77] was married with Udāyin of Sindh–Sauvīra. The second, Padmāvatī, was married with Dadhivāhan, king of Aṅgadeśa. Chaṇdapradyot of Avanti married the third, named Śivādevī. The fourth, Mrgāvatī became the queen of Śatānik, king of Vatsa. The fifth, Jyeṣṭā

Malla clan, and the king of Kośala belonged to the Śākya branch of the Ikshvaku family. These two clans were again branches of the Saṃvrijji or Lichchhavi kshatriyas, to which king Chetak belonged. Hence he might have been considered as their family–leader or the headman of the family.

(74) "Jain Sāhitya Saṅgrah Lekhmālā. (Series of articles) pp. 25.

(75) Idid pp. 74.

(76) Bharateśvara B. V. Translation.

(77) Her name must have surely been Prabhāvatī, because her sister had an almost similar name "Padmāvatī". Hence "Padmāvatī" instead of "Prabhāvatī" on pp. 315 of Bharateśvara B. V. must be a press–error, because on pp. 325 of the same book, it is again written "Prabhāvatī".

was married with Nandivardhan,[78] prince of Kuṇḍagrām[79]. Two daughters, Sujyeṣṭā and Chillaṇā were, as yet, unmarried. Later on Chillaṇā was married with Śreṇik, king of Magadha. Sujyeṣṭā had observed celibacy all her life, and had become a Jaina nun. I have not given these names in order of their seniority in age. That we shall decide in the following paragraphs:—(The reader is requested to judge and then accept whatever conclusions appeal to him.

She was married with king Udāyin of Sindh–Sauvīra, the capital of which was Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇ. I shall here narrate incidents from the life of this queen, which would be useful to us as history[80]; the information about these incidents was furnished by Mahāvīr himself, after he had acquired Kaivalyagnāna; and hence we will have to unreservedly accept it as true[81].

(1) Prabhāvatī

Udāyin was the king of Sindhudeśa, the capital of which was Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇ[82]. He had married Cheṭak's daughter

(78) See further in this book where it is stated to be a suburb of Viśālī. Federal system of government prevailed in those times and rulers of even small territories like this were called "Rājāhs". (Vide Chapter V). All of them were independent. In Vaiśālī alone the number of such small independent Rājāhs was very large.

(79) This Nandivardhan was the elder brother of Mahāvīr and the eldest son of king Siddhārtha.

(80) See f. n. no. 82 below.

(81) Readers other than Jains, might have their doubts about the truth of this statement: but they are historical facts.

(82) Vide pp. 182–83 and 315–25, of Bharateśvara B. V. Translation. "King Udāyin ruled Vīttabhaya–pattaṇ which adorned the country of Sindhu–deśa. He had Prabhāvatī, the daughter of king Chetak as his chief queen; she worshipped a specific idol for long time, and on seeing her death nearing she took Dīkshā and handed over the idol for worship to one of her maid–servants, who was an ugly–looking girl. Once a merchant from Gāndhār went there (to Sindhu–deśa) and fell sick. This maid–servant nursed him very–well; in return of her services the merchant–prince gave her some medicinal conjuring pillets, by eating one of which she transformed her ugliness into damsel–beauty; by eating another a deity appeared before her for service.

Prabhāvatī and had made her his chief queen. This Prabhāvatī daily worshipped an idol for a long time; knowing that her death was nearing, she became a Jaina nun, and handed over the idol to an ugly-looking maid-servant. Once upon a time, a great merchant, who had come to Sindhudeśa, from Gāndhār, fell ill[83]. He was nursed back to health by this maid-servant. The merchant gave her in reward some magic tablets. When she

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She begged of the deity to find out a suitable husband for her, the deity arranged her pair with Chaṇḍa of Avanti, who took her away with that sacred and specific idol, all mounted on his Analgiri elephant; after the idol was removed from Vīttabhaya, king Udāyin found out from inquiries that both the maid and the idol were at Avanti. He demanded them back, king Chaṇḍa declined to part with them. So he (Udāyin) invaded the country of Chaṇḍa and defeated him, while the maid-queen took somewhere to her heels, hence the king Udāyin wanted to have only the idol back; but that did not move from the place, meanwhile the soul of queen Prabhāvatī, who was in heavens, appeared before him as a God and said. "Oh king Udāyin, you need not remove the idol to Pattaṇ, as your capital is shortly to be buried under the sands falling in torrents. Let it remain there. "So king Udāyin prepared for returning to his country, taking king Chaṇḍa with him as a war-captive and also making him wear on the forehead a tablet of gold-plate bearing the prescription "Mamadāsīpati". He encamped at Daśapur on the way, when there was the Paryuṣaṇ-Parva and observed a fast for the day. He, therefore told his cook, not to cook for him, but for king Chaṇḍa alone, whatever he liked. Tee cook asked king Chaṇḍa, what he wanted to have for his meals. King Chaṇḍa suspecting some intrigue, questioned the cook, why only to-day he was asked of this; the cook said "King Udāyin has the Paryuṣaṇ fast to-day". King Chaṇḍa pretending and surpecting that he will be given poison mixed with food, told the cook that he was also a Jain, and had to observe the same fast, but being afflicted with these calamities, forgot the advent of this auspicious religious holiday. The cook carried the message to his master, king Udāyin. On being told that king Chaṇḍa was also a Śrāvak, (a lay-brother) king Udāyin instantaneously came before king Chaṇḍa, apologised to him, for not knowing him to be his religious lay-brother; so saying, he removed the golden tablet from his forehead, then performed the Saṃvatsarik-Pratikramaṇ and also released him from bondage; afterwards he returned to Vīttabhaya-paṭṭan".

(83) From the above story we can affirm that trade relations must have existed at the time, between Gāndhār and Sindhudeśa; perhaps both by land and water through the river Indus.

swallowed one tablet, her ugliness was gone for ever and she was transformed into a matchless beauty; when she swallowed the second, a Goddess appeared before her and asked her what she could do for her. The maid-servant requested her to find out a suitable husband for her. The Goddess fixed her marriage with king Chaṇḍa of Avanti. King Chaṇḍa came there and carried away both the maid-servant and the idol to Avanti on his elephant Analgiri[84]. After some days, this removal of the idol and the maid-servant was brought to the ears of king Udāyin. He demanded the return of both from Chaṇḍa who refused to do so. Udāyin invaded his country, and defeated him. The maid-servant sought safety in flight and was lost for good. Udāyin then decided to take back the idol alone. But he or his men could not move the idol from the place where it was.

At this time the dead queen Prabhāvatī's soul appeared before him and said, "O king, do not venture to carry this idol to Paṭṭaṇ, because your capital will be destroyed by heavy showers of sand in a short time. Let it be where it is."

Taking with him Chaṇḍa as his war-prisoner, Udāyin started on his journey back to Paṭṭaṇ, and he caused Chaṇḍa to wear a thin plate of gold on his forehead, having the words "Mamadāsīpati" (the husband of my maid-servant) inscribed on it.

On the way he stopped at Daśapur[85] for rest. The day was the Paryuṣaṇ day[86] and Udāyin observed a fast, and ordered his cook to ask king Chaṇḍa what he would like to have that day for his dinner. When the cook approached Chaṇḍa and informed

(84) "He is named Malgiri". ("Bhārhuta-stūpa" by Cunningham pp. 2).

(85) It is supposed that the village named Mandsore, which is situated between Jaora and Neemuch in Rājputānā, was called Daśapur in olden times. (Purātattva Vol. I pp. 269). It was named Daśapur because the army that had encamped there was divided into ten regiments. Vide pp. 79 Vol. III of "Corpus Inscriptions Indicarum" by Sir Cunningham for the comments of Dr. Fleet.

(86) That the Paryuṣaṇ Parva lasted only for a day in those times is indicated here. At present it lasts for eight days. See f.-n. no. 90 below.

him about the fast of Udāyin, Chaṇḍa doubted some foul-play like the mixture of poison with his food; he said to the cook that he was also a Jain[87] and he also wanted to observe the fast. The cook took his message to Udāyin, who at once came to him and apologised for his cruel treatment towards a brother-Jain. The gold plate from the fore-head was removed, and both of them said their yearly prayer (Samvatsarika-pratikramaṇ) together. After releasing king Chaṇḍa, he returned to Vītṭabhaya-paṭṭaṇ[88].

From the above story we come to the following conclusions:— (i) Prabhāvatī had worshipped an idol for a long time after her marriage with Udāyin. (ii) Knowing that the time of her death was approaching near, she had become a Jaina nun, and handed over the idol to her maid-servant. (iii) This idol remained with this maid-servant for many years. (iv) Due to the help of a Goddess she was able to marry king Chaṇḍa and she had carried away the idol with her to Avanti. (v) After some time Udāyin came to know the disappearance of this maid-servant and the idol and their being in Avanti. (vi) He had to wage war against Chaṇḍa to regain the idol. (vii) Udāyin was the victor. The maid-servant sought safety in flight. King Chaṇḍa became the war-prisoner. The idol did not move an inch from where it was. Queen Prabhāvatī's soul predicted the destruction of his capital by heavy showers of sand[89] and advised him not to carry the idol with him. Udāyin started on his journey back to his own country taking with him Chaṇḍa as his war-prisoner. (viii) On the Paryuṣaṇ[90] day, he halted at Daśapur for rest. He ordered his cook

(87) From this it becomes evident that king Chanda had not accepted Jainism as his faith, upto this time.

(88) This event has taken place a few years before Mahāvīr acquired Kaivalyagnāna in 556 B. C. We may reasonably fix the date of the event to have been 561 B. C.

(89) *Vide the account of* Sindh-Sauvīra *for* the details regarding the destruction of Vītṭabhaya-paṭṭan, and for what is found at that place to-day.

(90) These are the greatest religious holidays of Jains. Their duration was only one day in those times. Now they continue for eight days. c. f. f. n. no. 86 above.

not to prepare any dish for him as he wanted to observe fast; and further ordered him to ask Chaṇḍa what he desired for his dinner. Chaṇḍa doubted some foul-play like the mixture of poison, and said that he was also a Jain and wanted to observe the fast[91]. When this was reported to Udāyin, he apologised[92] for his ill-treatment of him[93], removed the gold plate, released him, and returned to his own country.

The year in which Udāyin apologised for his conduct, might have been 561 B. C.[94], which must have also been the year of the war between Udāyin and Chaṇḍa. Because the distance between their countries is long, he must have started his march over Avanti a year earlier i. e. in 562 B. C. Four years must have elapsed before he got the information about the disappearance of the idol. The maid-servant might have kept the idol in her possession for five years after the death of Prabhāvatī. Thus Prabhāvatī's death must have taken place in 572 B. C., and she must have become a Jaina nun in 573 B. C. If we take her married life to have lasted ten years, her marriage must have taken place in 584 B. C. At the time of her marriage she must have been thirteen, because that was generally the age of marriage for girls, and because she was the chief queen, she must have been the first queen of Udāyin; because generally the first queen is made the chief queen. Hence, at the time of his marriage with Prabhāvatī, he must have been three to five years senior to her in age, i. e. nearly 18 years old.

(91) This makes it evident that Chaṇḍa had not become a Jain upto this time (i. e. upto 561 B. C.).

(92) There are specific words for this yearly apology. "Khamāvuṃ Chhuṃ".

(93) It is a tenet of Jainism that every Jain forgives the trespasses and offences of every one in the world on the Paryuṣaṇ day. They say their yearly prayers (Pratikramaṇ) after uttering these apologetic sentences.

Savva jīva karuṃ śāsan rasī ।
Aisī dayā bhāva mana ullāsī ॥
Khāmemi savva jīvā, savve jīvā khamantu me ।
Mittīme savva bhūesu, vera majhjham na keṇaī ॥

(94) See f. n. no. 88 above.

According to this conclusion, he must have been born between 598 to 600 B. C.[95]. The above is admittedly not a sound method of fixing years and dates, but I have acted on the principle that something is better than nothing. (That these dates have been historically proved to be true, we shall see in the account of Sindh-Sauvīra). Thus Udāyin was born between 600 to 598 B. C., and Prabhāvatī was born between 597 to 598 B. C. The date of her marriage we take to be 584 B. C., and the date of her adopting the life of a Jaina nun, 574 B. C.

In the list of the names of the seven sisters given above, Padmāvatī is the second member. But as we have referred to Chaṇḍa, time and again, in the paragraphs above, it would be better to describe here the life of the princess who was married with him.

(2) Śivādevī

Both king Chaṇḍa and king Śreṇik are said to have already ascended their respective thrones before 568 B. C.[96-97]. King Chaṇḍa's death took place on the same night on which Mahāvīr died[98] in 527 B. C. Thus the duration of Chaṇḍa's reign was at least 41 years. It is possible that king Chaṇḍa might have come to the throne a few years earlier than 568 B. C. His reign might

(95) (Vide C. H. I. pp. 188, and see further in this volume the account of Udāyin). It has been proved later on that Udāyin was born in 600 B. C. All the dates given above have been more or less proved.

(96) Because in this year Mahāvīr had given up his relation with the world, and had taken to the life of a Jaina monk. (See f. n. no. 97 below). The year of his death is 527 B. C. He had acquired Kaivalyagnāna 30 years before his death, and he had led the life of a monk for 12 years; after which he acquired Kailvalyagnāna. This means that he renounced the world in 527+30+12=569 B. C.

(97) It is stated on pp. 96 of Kalpa. S. Com. that "Kings like Śreṇik and Chanda-prodyot served him when he adopted the life of a Jaina monk". He became a monk in 569 B. C. (See f. n. above). So Chaṇḍa and Śreṇik had ascended the thrones before 569 B. C. (Śreṇik is proved to have come to the throne in 580 B. C.) (Vide his account. We have yet to find out the exact date of Chnda's ascension to the throne.)

(98) For support, vide the account of Chaṇḍa in the description of Avanti.

have lasted 47 years[99], and he must have come to the throne in 574 B. C.

We have also proved that Chaṇḍa had not accepted Jainism as his faith upto the time when he was made a war-prisoner by Udāyin in 562 B. C. King Cheṭak had taken a vow not to give his daughter in marriage to any king who was not a Jain. Hence we come to the conclusion that Śivādevī was married with Chaṇḍa after 561 B. C. Again, Śreṇik married with Chillaṇā in 568 B. C. and at that time only two daughters of Cheṭak–Chillaṇā and Sujyeṣṭa–were unmarried[100]. This means that Śivādevī was married between 561 and 558 B. C. Possibly in 560 B. C. Now king Chaṇḍa ascended the throne in 574 B. C., and must not have remained unmarried for fifteen years after coming to the throne, because usually a king is married at the time of or immediately after he comes to the throne. This proves that Chaṇḍa had other queens before his marriage with Śivādevī[101], which means that she was not his chief queen. If Śivādevī married in 560 B. C., she must have been born in 574 B. C., because she must have been fourteen by the time of her marriage. In 543 B. C. Chaṇḍa placed the crown of the kingdom of Vatsa on Udayan's head in the presence of Mahāvīr, and Śivādevī and Udayan's mother Mṛgāvatī became Jaina nuns[102]. It follows therefore that she must have been 574–543=31 years old, by this time.

Her name itself suggests that she must have been the eldest. She was married to Nandivardhan[103], the elder brother of

(99) Further study reveals that he reigned for 48 years (Vide the account of Avanti).

(100) Vide Bharateśvara B. V. Translation pp. 326.

(101) Once there was a great fire in Ujjaini, which was put out by Śivādevī by the power of her chastity. She might have been made the chief queen from that time, the people also loved her very much. (Vide the account of Avanti.) That she was made the chief queen, means that there were other queens also.

(102) See f. n. no. 39 above.

(103) At the time of his marriage he had not yet ascended the throne.

Mahāvīr[104]. Mahāvīr died in 527 B. C., at the age of 72. Hence he must have been born in 526–72=598 B. C. Nandivardhan was two or three years his senior, and must have been born in 601 B. C. Jyeṣṭā must have been two or three years his junior in age, and must have been born in 599 B. C. Now Prabhāvatī's year of birth has been fixed as 598–9 B. C. This means that there is a difference of a year and a half between their births.

(3) **Jyeṣṭā**

She was married to king Śreṇika in 558 B. C., hence she must have been born in 558+14=572 B. C.

(4) **Chillaṇā**

She remained a virgin throughout her life, and was a year and half Chillaṇā's senior. Hence she must have been born in 573–4 B. C.

(5) **Sujyeṣṭā**

She was married to king Śatānik of Kauśāmbī. In the account of Vatsadeśa, we have proved that Śatānik was born in 585 B. C. and died in 550 B. C., and that Udayan was born of Mrgāvatī in 557 B. C. (because he was seven years old at the time of his father's death). King Chaṇḍa had invaded Kauśāmbī because he was bewitched by the beauty of Mrgāvatī who must have been thirty years old at that time. Hence the year of her birth must have been 550–30=580 B. C. In this way the difference between the ages of Śatānik and Mrgāvatī was five years which is not much. She became a Jaina nun at the age of 37 in 543 B. C. after the coronation ceremony of Udayan by the hands of Mahāvīr.

(6) **Mṛgāvati**

If we accept that queen Mṛgāvatī was born in 580 B. C., she must have been married to Śatānik in 580–14=566 B. C. when Śatānik must have been 19 to 20 years old. Now we know that

(104) In Kalpa S. Com. it is stated that Triślā, the mother of Nandivardhan and Mahāvīr, was a sister of king Chetak. This means that Nandivardhan and Jyeṣṭā were cousins. In those times, marriages of cousins must have been allowed among kshatriyās. This custom prevails among the kshatriyās even to-day. In Ahmedābād, such marriage took place in the family of richest man (Nagar-sheth), who says that they have descended from kshatriyās.

a king marries at the time of, or immediately after he comes on the throne. Śatānik ascended the throne in 570 B. C. Hence he must be married once, before he married Mṛgāvatī, who, consequently, must not have been made the chief queen immediately after her marriage.

(7) Padmāvatī

She was married to king Dadhivāhan of Aṅgadeśa, the capital of which was Champāpurī, where the twelfth Jaina Tīrthaṅkar Vāsupūjya died. The account of the life of Padmāvatī is given in many Jaina books, but we shall take up incidents from her life which are relevant to our history[105]. It is said that when she was pregnant, she had gone to sport in a forest, riding on an elephant with the king. The elephant began to run wildly due to some reason. The king took hold of the branch of a tree on the way. The queen was pregnant and she could not do so. The elephant ran with the queen on its back a great distance. King Dadhivāhan returned to the city, but the queen was taken to a distant and strange country by the elephant[106]. Later on, she gave birth to a son in a safe place. This son became famous with the name of Karkaṇḍu[107]. He became the ruler of the territory in which he was born, and later on invaded Aṅgadeśa. Thus the father and son, Dadhivāhan and Karkaṇḍu, not knowing the relation between them, waged war against each other, and one of them would have been killed by the other, if Padmāvatī, who had by this time taken to the life of a Jaina nun, had not by chance come on the scene of war and informed and convinced them that they were father and son. They embraced each other and returned to their respective countries. Jaina books here have committed a mistake[108]

(105) Vide pp. 102-6 of Bharateśvara B. V. Translation.

(106) Vide the account af Chedi-deśa for further information.

(107) Vide the account of Chedi-deśa and the foot notes given there; Kaia=a hand, Kaṇḍu=itching. His hands were constantly itching and so he was called Karkaṇḍu by the people. We shall know later on his real name in the account of Chedi-deśa.

(108) We shall notice this mistake in the account of the life of king Karkaṇḍu in the description of the Chedi dynasty.

and have stated that king Dadhivāhan gave up his kingdom and retired into the forest. I believe that he remained on the throne for some years. After a few years king Śatānık of Vatsa had invaded his country and plundered Champānagarī. We know the result of the war, which has already been described. All the above details are taken from Jaina books.

King Śatānik plundered and destroyed Champānagarī in 556 B. C. as proved in the foregoing pages. Hence king Dadhivāhan must have died within a short time after that i. e. in 555 B. C. He must have fought against Karkaṇḍu in 559 or 560 B. C., when Karkaṇḍu must at least have been 18 to 20 years old. So he must have been born in 559+18=577; also this must be the year of the separation of Dadhivāhan and Padmāvatī. Padmāvatī must have at least been sixteen years old when she was pregnant. Hence she must have been born in 557+16=593 B.C.

We have tried in foregoing pages to fix the dates of the births, deaths, and of many other events in the lives of these seven daughters. Let us now arrange them as follows:—

No.	No. according to seniority	Name	Birth	Death	Duration of life	Married with whom and the year of marriage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	Prabhāvatī	598 B.C.	573 B.C.	25	With Udāyin of Sindh in 585 B. C.
2	5	Śīvā	574 B.C.	became a Jaina nun 543 B. C.	31	With Chaṇḍa of Avanti in 560 B. C.

(109) We shall see whether there is any place for correction in this matter in the account of king Karkaṇḍu.

(110) In "Jaina Sāhitya Lekhsangraha" pp. 79. the order of names is different · (i) Prabhāvatī, (ii) Padmāvatī, (iii) Mṛgāvatī, (iv) Śīvā, (v) Jyeṣṭā (vi) Sujyeṣṭā, (vii) Chillanā. The author has stated no reason for arranging names in this order. We have stated enough reasons for our order of names.

3	1	Jyeṣṭā	600 B.C.	became a Jaina nun	Not known	With Nandivardhan prince of Kshatriyakuṇḍ in 586 B. C.
4	7	Chillaṇā	572 B.C.	—do— in 528 B.C.	44	With Śreṇik of Magadh in 558 B.C.
5	6	Sujyeṣṭā	573 B.C.	—do— in 552 B.C.	21	Remained a virgin throughout her life.
6	4	Mṛgāvatī	580 B.C.	—do— in 543 B.C.	37	With Śatānik of Vatsa in 566 B. C.
7	3	Padmāvatī	593 B.C.	—do— in 576 B.C.[111]	17	With Dadhivāhan of Aṅgadeśa in 579 B. C.

Looking to the names of the kings with whom these princesses were married, we shall be able to affirm that kings gave their daughters in marriage to kings of distant countries.

King Cheṭak's death and the end of his dynasty

The youngest daughter of Cheṭak, (Chillaṇā) was married to Śreṇik of Magadh. She had given birth to three sons, (1) Kuṇik (2) Halla, and (3) Vihalla. Kuṇik was the heir to the throne, while the other two were given a bracelet and an elephant of gods, named Sechanak. Kuṇik, thus had no reason to envy his brothers, because compared to the kingdom of Magadh, which he got, his brothers' gifts were just nothing. Even if he was envious he could not have been able to take by force those gifts from his brothers. But no sooner did he ascend the throne, than he ordered Halla and Vihalla to hand over that Sechanak (elephant) to him under the pretext that it

(111) whether it is proper to make any change with regard to this date, we shall discuss in the account of Chedi-deśa.

was required for his son Udāyan (Udayāśva) to ride over it[112]. Halla and Vihalla ran away with the elephant to Chetak, their mother's father. Kuṇik sent a message to Chetak that either he should hand over the two brothers and the elephant to him, or he should prepare for war. The brave king Chetak accepted the latter alternative and a bloody warfare began between them[113]. Kuṇik had thought it easy to conquer Chetak, but actually found it next to impossible. He thought that it was impossible for him to defeat them, as long as they had in their possession the elephant of gods. He decided to obtain or kill the elephant by deceit. He ordered his soldiers to dig a ditch in the middle of the field of battle, filled it with live coals, and then began the fight. Halla and Vihalla rode into the forefront over the elephant, who saw the ditch full of live coals. He lifted the princes with his trunk and after gently placing them on the ground plunged himself into the fire and died.

At this time, gods came down from heaven and carried away both the princes to that place, where Mahāvīr was staying. They were deeply impressed by his preachings, renounced the world, and accepted the life of Jaina monks. The battle between Chetak and Kuṇik continued. Chetak, as I have stated before, was a very skilful archer who never missed his aim. But he thought it better to starve himself to death by a vow of not eating and drinking, than to kill his daughter's son for the sake of a kingdom[114]. He plunged himself in a well and died. Some are of the opinion that he was killed by Kuṇik while fighting[115]. This event took place in 525 B. C.

As king Chetak had no son, his kingdom of Vaiśālī was annexed to the empire of Magadh by Kuṇik.

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(112) This was due to the instigation of the daughter of king Viduratha of Kośal.

(113) Vide pp. 263. "Purātattva" Vol. I.

(114) "Jain Sāhitya Lekh Saṅgraha, Vide pp. 74, f. n. no. 2. It is stated therein that this was suicide. Chetak who was devoutly religious, was not likely to commit suicide. He brought himself to death for a noble purpose.

(115) Vide pp. 75. Jain Sāhitya L. S.

Thus Cheṭak's death took place in 525 B. C. We have already proved that his eldest daughter was born in or about 600 B. C. Hence he himself must have been born not later than 616 B. C. Thus the duration of his life would be 616 - 525=91 years. That all the kings respected him, might have partly been due to his seniority over them in age. Of course his high family was the greater reason.

Thus with death of Cheṭak ended his dynasty and the independence of Vaiśālī in 525 B. C.[116].

(8) MAGADH

The empire of Magadh was the most powerful of all the kingdoms of that time. We get more information about its rulers, their lives and historical events in connection with them, than we get about any other kingdom. Each king deserves a chapter. They were emperors of the whole of India. Their lives will be described in special chapters devoted to them.

Of the many families and dynasties that ruled over Magadh, Śiśunāg was the first. The kings of this dynasty were formerly the kings of Kāśī and then became the kings of Magadh. They were succeeded by the kings of the Nanda, and then the Maurya dynasties.

I shall first finish off the accounts of the other countries, and then devote myself to the account of Magadh.

(9) BAṆG

There were many small kingdoms in this country. Over them all, was the power of the emperors of Magadh. No further details are available about them.

(10) KUŚASTHAL[117]; MAHĀKOŚAL; AṆGA.

Kuśasthal etymologically means a region in which grass grows in great quantities. Vidarbha has an exactly opposite mean-

(116) Vide pp. 35. E. H. I. 3rd. ed.

(117) For the meaning of these words vide previous pages of this book; footnotes No. 26-27-41-51-52 Chapter III.

ing. It means a region in which no grass grows[118]. Politically Kuśasthal and Vidarbha formed parts of one kingdom. Sometimes they were also ruled by independent kings.

Meanings of these These were the only two names in use in very old time. But in the time with which we are concerned " Mahākośal " was also in use. In Jaina books we get yet another name "Aṅgadeśa".

Mahākośal means a " large country ". (Mahā=large, and Kośal=Kośal country). That Mahākośal was the name given to a larger country means that there was a country with a smaller area, and it must have been called Kośal. This Kośal was a country in northern India and we have already given an account of it in the previous pages of this book (Pp. 72–90). Because Kośal was in the north, it might have been called North Kośal, and because Mahākośal was in the south, it might have been called South Kośal. From the view point of area, North Kośal can be called Kośal and south Kośal can be called Mahākośal.

I have not yet known the meaning of the word Aṅgadeśa.

Just as the boundaries of this country differed at different times, so it had different capitals at different times. Champānagarī was its capital in the 6th century B. C.[119]. We can get some idea

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(118) It is stuted in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India", that Berār or Vidarbha was calld South Kośal in the time of Buddha.

Vi=Without, darbha=a kind of grass. Vidarbha=a country where no grass grows.

Kuśa=a kind of grass, Sthala=place: Kuśasthal=a country in which much grass grows.

Thus the etymological meanings of Vidarbha and Kuśasthal are opposite. How can they be the names of the same country? It would be proper to say that Kośal was divided into two parts, one in which grass grew profusely (eastern portion which was therefore called Kuśasthal), and one in which grass was scarce (western portion which was therefore called Vidarbha).

(119) It must have been situated at the place, where now is found the rock-inscription of Rupnāth in the province of Jubbulpore in C. P. For further information vide the account of emperor Priyadarśin, and previous page of this book.

about the area of Mahākośal, if we identify the Central Provinces of to-day with Kuśasthal, and Berār with Vidarbha. For a detailed study the reader is referred to the map of India given in the foregoing pages and the footnotes given, to explain the numbers put on it.

The confusion about Aṅga deśa and Champāpurī

Historians of to-day have come to the conclusion that Aṅga deśa consisted of the province of Bhāgalpur in Bengāl. This assertion is not supported by any of the ancient books. They might have come to this conclusion, because in the above-mentioned region is a town named Champāpurī, and because Champāpurī was the name of the capital of Aṅga-deśa. They forget the fact that the year in which Champāpurī which was re-built by Kuṇik was 524 B. C.[120], while the Champāpurī, which was the capital of Aṅga-deśa, was a much older city, and was brought to ruins by Śatānik of Kauśāmbī in 556 B. C.[121]. In short, these two Champāpurīs are different from each other, were situated on different places, and existed and flourished in different times[122].

Chedideśa and Chedi dynasty

I have explained above, how the situation of Aṅgadeśa is located wrongly, on account of the confusion about two Champāpurīs. I now shall clear out below another mistake of the same type.

The country[123], with the account of which we are concerned

(120) If we grant that the Champāpurī built by Kuṇik was the same as Champāpurī which is now in Bengāl, we shall have to believe that it was newly built and not on the ruins of an old city of that name. If we grant that Kuṇik re-built Champāpurī which was plundered and almost destroyed by king Śatānik, we shall have to admit that it was in Mahākośal.

It is not certain, at which of these two places Champāpurī stood in those times. It is more probable that it might have been in Kuśasthal as I have explained in the account of Kauśāmbī.

(121) Vide pp. 110 and pp. 131 and f. n. No. 120 of this book, above.

(122) This old Champāpurī was brought to earth in 556 B. C. King Kuṇik rebuilt it after thirty or thirty-two years.

(123) See f. n. No. 129 below.

here, was once[124] under the rule of the kings of Chedi dynasty; and hence it was called Chedideśa, though its original name was Mahākosal. I shall give details in the account of Chedi dynasty, and here I shall give only a short note on it.

The countries of Anga, Vaṃśa and Kaliṅg were situated near one another. Anga was in the extreme west and Kaliṅg in the extreme east, and Vamśa was in the middle. I am of the opinion that this Vaṃśa was called Chedi in ancient times, though both the names were in use since very old times; and though I have almost no evidence to put forth to the effect, that both the names belong to one and the same country, or they were the names given to the same country at different times. But looking to the description of their boundaries[125], we can affirm, that they might have been the names of the same country. At the time about which we are writing, Dadhivāhan was the king of Aṅgadeśa, while if we take them to be separate countries[126], we do not know who ruled over Chedi and Kaliṅg at the same time; but we know that, Karkaṇḍu[127] ascended the throne after this king,–whose name we do not know,–died. We have proved above that Karkaṇḍu was the son of king Dadhivāhan. Thus all these three countries were brought under the rule of the same kings, and they were together called "Trikaling"[128]. Because Karkaṇḍu

(124) The king of the Chedi dynasty ruled over this province during the 3rd and the 9th centuries A. D. (For further information vide the account of Chedi dynasty).

(125) Vide the account of Chedi dynasty.

(126) See f. n. no. 148 below.

(127) See f. n. no. 107 above, for the reason why this name was given to it. For the real name vide the account of Chedi dynasty and further in this chapter.

(128) In the word "Trikaliṅg" Kaling is the principal word. The king of Kaliṅg was also the ruler of the two neighbouring countries. These three countries combined together were called Trikaling. This means that the word "Trikaliṅg" means a combination of any three countries and not the same three countries. Once the word meant a combination of Aṅga, Chedi and Kaling (in the time

ruled on Chedi, his dynasty was given the name of Chedi dynasty. Thus, Chedi-deśa[129] is a very old name of a particular region, while Chedi dynasty is of a comparatively much later origin. This dynasty began in the 6th century B. C. when Karkaṇḍu was on the throne. Thus Chedi-deśa and Chedi dynasty are not so closely connected with each other as to represent one country, ruled by one dynasty throughout, for a very long time.

Aṅga-deśa consisted of the great part of the Central Provinces, while Chedi-deśa or Vaṃśa-deśa consisted of the modern districts of Bilāspur, Rāipur, Udepur, Chhattisgadh[130], southern portion of the state of Rewā[131] and Śohanāgpur. The capital of Aṅga-deśa was Champāpurī, while the capital of Vaṃśa-deśa was Kañchanpur[132].

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of king Karkaṇḍu). At another time it consisted of Kaliṅg, Cholā and Pāṇḍyā (in the time of Khārvel). Still another time it represented the combination of Kaliṅg, Baṅg (Samtaṭ) and the coastal portion of Burmā. (Vide the account of Kaliṅg).

(129) Mr. Dey in his A. I. states that Tripurī is the ancient name of Jubbalpore in Central Provinces. It was also called Chedi. This means that Central Provinces were once called Chédideśa.

J. B. A. S. pp. 15 (According to Colonel Todd, Chanderi in Mālvā, was the capital of Śiśupāl who was put to death by Kṛṣna. Mr. Fuhrer (quoting from Dey's A. I. pp. 14) states that Dehal Maṇḍal is the ancient Chedideśa.

(130) In the introduction Pp. IX of "Ancient Erās" by Sir Cunningham it is stated that Boramdev which was the capital of the district of Chhattisgaḍh (Mahākosal) was also the capital of Chedideśa or Kalchūries. In J. B. A. S. pp. 257 it is stated that the name of the region which is near the eastern (it should be western) boundary line of Bhojkat or Avanti was called Chedi. (Vide pp. 35 of Dr. D. R. Bhaṇḍarker's "Sabhāparva and Aśoka" in which it is stated that the eastern boundary line of Chedi and Pulind embraced each other.

(131) Vide pp. 14 of Dey's A. I. Chedideśa included within its precincts the southern portion of Bundelkhaṇḍa and northern portion of Jubbalpore. In the time of Gupta kings, the capital was Kalinger (Rewā). Tripurī was another name of Chedi (vide f. n. no. 129 above, and the account of Kaliṅg for my opinion).

(132) Bharateśvar B. V. pp. 103.

The family of Dadhivāhan

We possess the chronological lists of the names of the kings of Kāśī, Kośal and Vatsa. We know the names of the founders of the dynasties which ruled over them. We know the names of the six generations of kings who ruled over them before 6th century B. C. Unfortunately, we have no such wealth of information about Aṅga-deśa. Only Jaina books supply some details[133]. At a certain time king Raṇvir's son Dadhivāhan ruled over it. Looking to the description given about him in these books, this Dadhivāhan must have been the same individual as the Dadhivāhan about whom we are going to write here.

In the account of Kāśī we have stated that the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṅkar's, Pārśvanāth's father Aśvasen was the king of Kāśī, and that Pārśvakumār[134] was married to the daughter of king Prasenjit of Kuśasthal. This means that the name of the king who ruled over Kuśasthal in the 8th century B. C. was Prasenjit. Now six generations of kings have been found to have ruled over Kāśī, Kośal, Magadh and Vatsa from the 8th century B. C. to 6th century B. C. Naturally, we come to the conclusion that the king Dadhivāhan who was ruling over Kuśasthal in the sixth century B. C. must have been the sixth king from the first king Prasenjit (who ruled in the 8th century B. C.)[135].

We do not know anything else about Prasenjit except that he was the father-in-law of Pārśvanāth. Of course, I was once of the opinion that this Prasenjit must have been the same who

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(133) Ibid pp. 107.

(134) Pārśvanāth was the name given to this Tīrthankar after he attained salvation. Before he had renounced this world, and before his marriage, he was called Pārśvakumār. I have used this word here in this sense.

(135) The list may be arranged as follows:—

(1) Prasenjit
(2) „
(3) „
(4) „
(5) Raṇvir
(6) Dadhivāhan.

erected the Prasenjit pillar in Bhārhut-stūpa which is near Champāpurī[136] in Kuśasthal. But as I have already stated, I had to change my opinion on account of further study. We do not get even the names of the second, third, and the fourth-kings. We know only the name of the fifth king, and we have given it, (Rañvir). Dadhivāhan must have succeeded him. We know some details about Dadhivāhan, which are given below.

Short notes on their lives

He had three queens. The name of the chief queen was Abhayādevī[137], the name of the second was Padmāvatī or Padmādevī[138], and the name of the third was Dhāriṇī[139]. This makes it clear that Padmāvatī was surely not the chief queen. Padmāvatī might have been married to Dadhivāhan five years after Abhayādevī was married to him. Hence the difference between the ages of Dadhivāhan and Padmāvatī, must have been eight to ten years instead of the normal difference of two to five years. We know that Padmāvatī was born in 593 B. C. (Vide the previous pages of this book for the list of the names of the seven sisters and their ages). Hence Dadhivāhan must have been born in 601-603 B. C. We also know that king Dadhivāhan died in 556 B. C. i. e. he died at the age of 603–556=47. If we grant that he might have come to the throne at the age of fifteen, his reign must have lasted for thirty-two to thirty-four years.

Dadhivāhan

We need not enter into details about all the incidents in the life of Dadhivāhan. We may only note here, that he had to be

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(136) Because Champāpurī will have to be located near the rock-inscription of Rupnāth. (I shall discuss this in details in the account of emperor Priyadarśin).

This is a good instance of the mistakes committed due to similarity of names). Bhārhut is just near the Rupnāth rock-inscription.

(137) Bharateśvar B. V. pp. 103.

(138) Some information about this queen is given in the previous pages of this volume,

(139) Details about the life of this queen are given in the previous pages of this volume.

separated for good from Padmāvatī, with whom he had gone to sport in a garden on an elephant, that he had to wage war with his own son (who had become the ruler of Chedi at that time) and that the father and the son were prevented from killing each other by the accidental arrival of Padmāvatī who had become a Jaina nun[140]. After some years, when Śatānik of Kauśāmbī invaded Anga, Dadhivāhan's death took place. His queen Dhāriṇī was imprisoned with her daughter Vasumatī by Śatānik who started on his journey back to his country with him. Dhāriṇī committed suicide on the way to keep in tact her chastity, when some officers of Śatānik tried to rape her. Vasumatī was sold to a merchant of Kauśāmbī[141]. The merchant gave her the name of Chandanbālā. She became a Jaina nun by the hands of Mahāvīr himself. Such in short, is the account of Dadhivāhan.

The end of the dynasty

The dynasty of Dadhivāhan ended with him. Though Karkaṇḍu was his son, yet he had to adopt the race and family names of the king whom he succeeded, and give up his own, because such was the custom prevailing at that time. Thus, though he was the son of the king of Aṅga, yet, because he ascended the throne of Chedi, his name is included in the list of Chedi dynasty. We shall describe his life in the account of Chedideśa. I shall give here some details about his birth, because these details are also connected with the lives of Dadhivāhan and Padmāvatī.

We know how the elephant ran away madly with the pregnant queen Padmāvatī on his back. After running over a great distance, he stopped near the hermitage of an ascetic. Padmāvatī got down and stated her condition before the ascetic, who was very kind-hearted by nature. The ascetic showed her the way to Dantpur[142], and told her that it would be easy for her to reach

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(140) Vide further pages of this book and f. n. no. 143 infra.

(141) I have not mentioned this detail before-hand because it was not necessary.

(142) Dantpur might have either been the capital of a small kingdom at the foot of Vindhyā mountains, or it might have been a small kingdom situated between Aṅgadeśa and Vaṃśadeśa.

Champāpuri from there. Padmāvatī started on her way to Dantpur. On the way she met a Jaina nun, and told her everything in details. The nun told her that this world was full of illusion, and that the human body was to perish in the end. Padmāvatī felt a strong desire to renounce the world, and became a nun herself under her preceptorship. Her pregnancy began to be more and more manifest day by day. She had not told the nun anything about this. When, however, she came to know of her pregnancy, she was angry and asked her the reason why she had made a secret of it. Padmāvatī replied that she would not have accepted her as her pupil, had she told her this, and that her condition would have been miserable without her protection in a strange country like that. The nun was a practical woman, and arranged for privacy upto the time of delivery. After due time, a son was born, who was brought up by her upto the necessary age for leaving him alone. Then she put some signs[143] on the child's body for future recognition, and left him in a cemetery.

The keeper of the cemetery saw the child and gave to his wife who had no children. When the child was eight years old, and was playing with other children in the street, he was seen by two Jaina monks who were passing on the way. They were talking between themselves that whoever will cut the bamboo[144] on the opposite side of that road, will become a king in future. This was heard by the child and a brahmin child-friend of his.[145] They at once ran and cut the bamboo and began to fight. One said that he would be king and the second said that he would.

(143) It is stated that a ring was put on her fingers: but this is not possible because no Jaina nun ever puts on any ornament of any metal, not to talk of gold. It is possible that she might not have become a nun upto this time.

(144) The country might have possibly been given the name of Vaṃśa due to this incident; or it might have been given that name, because the growth of bamboos (Vaṃśa=bamboo) in it was excessive.

(145) This proves that there was nothing like untouchability in ancient times; (The man who is the keeper of a cemetery is always a chaṇḍāl, who is now considered an untouchable). Otherwise a child of a brahmin would not have been allowed to play with the child of a chaṇḍāl.

The guardians and parents of these two children approached the king for the settlement of the quarrel, the statement of which excited much laughter in the court. The king laughingly delivered the judgement that Karkaṇḍu[146] would have to give a village to the brahmin child, when he would become king. The people of the town began to tease Karkaṇḍu and his guardian, and mockingly demanded a village from them. Being tired of this, they left Dantpur. On their way they halted at Kañchanpur[147] which was a large city. Exactly at this time, the king of this city died leaving no son behind him, and the ministers were in search of a man who was fit to become a king. They saw Karkaṇḍu and were thoroughly impressed by his appearance. They placed him on an elephant and crowned him king. From thence Karkaṇḍu became the king of Kañchanpur which was the capital of Chedi[148]. No sooner did the brahmin family of Dantpur hear this news, than they came there to get a village from Karkaṇḍu. These brahmins told the brahmins of Kañchanpur that Karkaṇḍu was born of parents who belonged to the caste of untouchables. The brahmins were furious when they heard this, but they heard

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(146) See f. n. no. 107 above. This child's whole body was constantly itching, and he was constantly scratching his body with his nails. People therefore called him Karkaṇḍu. (This is one more instance of the peculiar habit of Jaina writers who always gave a characteristic name to a person, over and above his real name. I have discussed this habit of theirs in details in the previous pages of this book. Śrenik, Samprati, Kuṇik are names of this type).

(147) This proves that Dantpur and Kañchanpur are cities belonging to different kingdoms. Kañchanpur was in Kaliṅg, and Dantpur was in Vaṃśa, or Dantpur might have been the name of a region which now forms a part of Orissā. (cf. f. n. no. 142). In short, Orissā might have been included within Kaliṅg at a later date, but it formed a separate kingdom in ancient times. They were then separate kingdoms (Vide C. H. I. pp. 601). "Early literature however distinguishes the Kaliṅgās from Odrās or natives of Orissā (meaning hereby that the Odrās people inhabiting the provinces of Orissā did not probably belong to Kaliṅg) (what else can it be then?). The reply is quite simple, to Vaṃśadeśa, between the countries of Anga and Kaliṅg.

(148) This mistake is clear because Aṅga and Chedi are different countries.

a voice from the sky saying that "no man is low or high because he is born in a particular family. It is his actions that make him high or low. Karkaṇḍu might belong to any family, but he deserves to be respected because he has become a king". The brahmins were appeased. King Karkaṇḍu also duly respected them and ordered that all the chaṇḍāls (untouchables) of the city were to be uplifted and included in the brahmin caste. These new brahmins were given the name of Janaṅgama Dvij[149], while the original brahmins were called only "Dvijs". Then Karkaṇḍu jokingly said to the members of the brahmin family of Dantpur to go to king Dadhivāhan to ask for a village. Poor, simple brahmins! They approached king Dadhivāhan and told him the message. Dadhivāhan sent a reply to the effect that he would give a village to these brahmins after killing Karkaṇḍu on the field of battle. He acted thus because he was told that Karkaṇḍu was born of a chaṇḍāl family, and again because he was an independent king; he was not in any way bound to do as the king of Chedi told or ordered him to do. The brahmins delievered this message to Karkaṇḍu who on hearing it, began to shake with fury. He marched with an army upto the outer precincts of Champāpurī and challenged Dadhivāhan to a battle. His mother Padmāvatī, who had become a nun as we have already stated, came to know

(149) Vide pp. 104 of Bharateśvar B. V. Translation. "Dadhivāhan's son Karkaṇḍu converted the Vāsi Chaṇḍālās of Vātdhānak into Brahmins".

I have two explanations to offer about this:—

(i) Are these new brahmins in any way connected to Goaḍ and Sārasvat brahmins? It is just possible that these Goaḍ and Sārasvat brahmins might have their origin here, because these brahmins are called "Tapodhan" in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, and in many other places; and are considered to be low types of brahmins by other brahmins. The word "Goaḍ" has degenerated into "Garoḍā" in Kāthiāwār. These "Goad" (Garoḍā) brahmins act as preceptors to lower castes of hindu society to-day. If this is a fact, then the origin of Goaḍ brahmins must be Central Provinces or a part of Orissā, and not Bengāl (cf. f. n. no. 129–130 etc. above). (ii) These people are also known by the name of "Vātdhānak" while a race named "Vāṭkāṭak" ruled over the Central Provinces during the 4th and 5th century of Christian Era. It is possible that these names with similar sounds might have some connection with each other.

of this dreadful development of affairs[150], and arrived on the scene of battle. She convinced (by the signs on Karkaṇḍu's body) both of them that they were father and son. Dadhivāhan then made Karkaṇḍu enter his city in full pomp and procession. After some time Karkaṇḍu returned to his own country[151].

Thus ended the dynasty of Dadhivāhan, after whose death, Aṅgadeśa was annexed to the empire of Kaliṅg by Karkaṇḍu, and thus was formed the kingdom of Trikaliṅg.

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(150) This happened twenty years after Padmāvatī had become a nun. It is possible that she might have acquired the power to know before-hand the events to happen in future, due to her leading an ascetic kind of life. Else she might have been informed of this, during her travelling from one place to another. I believe that she might have acquired the power to know future events.

(151) Vide pp. 105 Bharateśvar. B. V. Trans. pp. 105. "Now Karkaṇḍu became the ruler of two countries and was called the king of Kaliṅg" (But we know, that several years after this battle had taken place, Dadhivāhan fought against Śatānik who had invaded Champāpurī. This proves that Karkaṇḍu had not become the ruler of Aṅgadeśa, otherwise the king of a small kingdom like Vatsa, might have thought twice before raising his head against him. We shall discuss all this in detail in the account of Chedi).



Chapter VI

Accounts of the kingdoms (contd.)

Synopsis:—(11) *Dhankaṭak:-Its real name was Bennākaṭak; distinction between two different rivers, both named Bennā—Its capital Bennātaṭnagar which was a fine sea-port—Significance of the word Amarāvatī—New light on Amarāvatī stupa—Refutation of the opinion held by some historians that Śungbhṛtya dynasty or Kaṇva dynasty had any connection with this country—Information about the region over which kings of Kaṇva dynasty ruled.*

(12) *Āudhra—It is described as a separate country.*

(13) *Kaling:—Definitions of Kaling, Trikaling Chedi-deśa and Chedi dynasty—Their relation to one another and the circumstances under which its founder was born—Determination of the time in which Chedi dynasty was founded—An account of the life of king Karkaṇḍu or Meghvāhan—More discussion about his dynasty—A short account of Kanchanpur and the gold idol—A chronological list of the names of kings of Chedi dynasty—More light on the gold idol—Accounts of the lives of Chedi kings other than Karkaṇḍu.*

(14) *Avanti:—New and important information about its different names at different times, and about its different capitals—More details about Ujjainī—Confusion of the events of the life of Bhoj of Kanoj with the events of the life of Bhoj of Ujjainī, because they were contemporaries—Explanation of the different names of the capital and its historical account.*

(11) DHANKAṬAK (BENNĀKAṬAK)

Of the sixteen countries that I have undertaken to describe, Āndhra and Dhankaṭak were considered to be Anārya (uncivilized) countries. But this division of countries into Ārya (civilized) and Anārya is based on civilization and culture in a country, both of which increase and decrease at different times in the same country. There were times when both these countries were highly civilized and cultured. They were as much civilized as other countries at the time with which we are concerned.

In chapter III we have stated the boundary of this country from the geographical point of view. It encircled within its precincts the major portion of the region which lies in the west between the rivers Godāvarī, and Kṛṣṇā. To be exact, in the north was the river Godāvarī, in the south was the rivulet named Guṇḍākāmā, in the east the straight line that can be drawn between the cities of Varangul and Kārnul, and in the west the Arabian sea.

Its boundary and its real name

We have stated that in the south was only a rivulet named Guṇḍākāmā. But the flow of the Kṛṣṇā river became so broad near its mouth that it formed a delta which was extremely fertile, and needed no water supply from Gundākāmā, the name of which was stated above to give to the reader exact details about the southern boundary line.

Historians have given the name of Dhankaṭak[1] to this country on the strength of Bauddha books. But this is a misleading word. The real word must have been Ben-kaṭak (or Benākaṭak)[2]. I give following reasons for this:—The river Krsṇā has been given the name of Benā in ancient books like Mahābhārat and Rāmāyaṇa.

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(1) This has been taken directly from the Bauddha books by the historians. I request linguistic experts to study the script of these books again and find out the truth.

(2) Benā-Kaṭak, Bena=river Krsnā; Kaṭak=a region surrounding. Benākaṭak=the region round which river Benā is flowing. See the paragraph above in connection with this.

The word "Kaṭak" means "Surrounding"[3]. So "Benā-kaṭak" means "the region surrounding the river Benā" or the country watered by the river Benā. This description applies exactly to the country with the account of which we are here concerned.

I shall now draw the reader's attention to another mistake committed by some historians. On account of this mistake they have fixed up a capital for this country which was never the capital of this country. (We shall discuss this in detail later on). Again, there are rivers in the neighbourhood of the river Kṛṣṇā, the names of which resemble in sound the word "Benā"[4]. The names of these rivers have misled several historians, because these rivers flow near one another and have names with similar sounds. We know that the other name of river Kṛṣṇā is Benā; similarly the names of two tributaries of the Godāvarī are Bain (Gaṅgā) and Pain (Gaṅgā). Prāṇhit, again, is the name of the river which is formed by their confluence, which meets the river Godāvarī[5] near the famous city of Chinur. These Bain and Pain might have been taken together to be called Bennā by the historians who have stated as the capital of Dhankaṭak, a town which is situated between these two rivers[6], because this town happens to possess

(3) See f. n. no. 2 above.

(4) The river on which Kāśī—Benāres is situated is called Vāṇārasī; sometimes it is also called Veṇā or Vāṇā.

River Yamunā has also two tributaries named Veṇā, and Reṇā. Two tributaries of river Godāvarī (described in the paragraph above) are also named together Benā. Hence there are many rivers, the names of which are same as or similar to Benā.

(5) None of these rivers is called either Veṇā or Beṇā. How, then, can we call the name of Benākaṭak to the region surrounding them ?

(6) Scholars are of the opinion that Amarāvatī was the capital of Dhankaṭak (Vide f. n. no. 11 below, and the paragraph connected with it). None of the ancient books states that this Amarāvatī was the same as Chinur, and scholars have given no evidence in support of their statement, that both these are the names of the same city. The sources of these two rivers are in Berār and they might have fixed up modern Umarāvatī, which is near Nāgpur, as Amarāvatī, the capital of this country.

remains of an ancient city. Now these ruins may represent any ancient city, because there are so many places in this region which possess remains of ancient cities, because this region was ruled by powerful kings in ancient times. It is not reasonable to fix up a town as the capital of an ancient country, just because it possesses remains of an ancient city.

As I have stated above, Benākaṭak was the real name of this country. I have also stated its boundary.

What are the facts about it?

No information is available as to what was the real name of its capital, but Jaina books supply a characteristic or symbolic name according to the habit of Jaina writers to give characteristic or symbolic names to persons and places[7]. The name given by them is Bennātaṭ-nagar, (Ben=River Kṛṣṇā, tat=bank, nagar=city i. e. a city which is on the bank of the river Bennā). This was a very flourishing port with a fine harbour on the east coast of the Indian Peninsula, in the 6th. century B. C. Ships from various foreign countries anchored in its harbour for trade purposes. It had a strongly built harbour which protected ships from storms in the sea. Bennātat-nagar had a situation similar to London, which is on the river Thames, and which, though many miles away from sea[8], is called a port, while it is free from the danger of sea storms, or similar to Hāmburg on the river Elb in Germany. It was twenty-five miles away from sea, on the river Bennā. Numerous ships from Magadh entered the river Bennā after voyaging through the river Ganges, the Bay of Bengāl, and the coast-line of Kaliṅg, and the harbour of Vizāgā-paṭṭaṇ (Government of India are planning to develop this harbour). Then these ships circled round the cape which is near the place,

(7) Vatsa-paṭṭan, Deva-paṭṭan, etc., vide f. n. no. 1 Chapter V.

(8) Calcuttā on the Huglī, Broach on the Narmadā, and Karāchī on the Indus, are also similarly situated—many miles away from the sea proper. Though Bombay is not situated on any river, it may be cited as a port of similar nature, because its harbour is a ditch on the east, while the sea proper is in its west, to safeguard the steamers from the sea-storms (see above paragraphs).

where this river flows into sea, and landed the goods on the coast, just as the steamers from western countries at present have to circumscribe a circle, southwards, to enter the harbour of Bombay, which is in the east. Thus Bennā-taṭnāgar was a great business and trade centre. The famous king Śreṇik, son of king Prasenjit, had come to Bennātaṭ-nagar[10] by the route described above, in the first quarter of 6th century B. C. when he had quarrelled with his father. He had stayed in the city for two years and a half, and had then returned to Magadh to ascend the throne. (The father's house of the mother of Abhay-kumār, son and prime-minister of Śreṇik, was in this city). It might have been now clear to the reader that Bennātat-nagar was as prosperous and flourishing as at present London, Bombay and Hāmburg are. In support of my statement, I draw the reader's attention to a report published by the Government of Madrās, containing an account of this city, compiled by the Archeological Department, on 29th. January 1930. It is stated therein, that it was situated on a large area near modern Bezwāḍā.

The city must have been full of majestic mansions, the tops of which might have been lost in the sky due to their height. On account of such extraordinary prosperity, it might also have been given the name of Amarāvatī[11]. It is possible that scholars might have confused this Amarāvatī with another Amarāvatī (Umarāvatī) in Berār, because they believe that Berār was called Dhankaṭak in ancient times.

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(9) Cf. no. 8 for some explanation of the importance of this city.

(10) For the details of his journey, and the route by which he travelled, vide pp. 38 and onwards, Bharateśvar B. V. Translation.

(11) Amarāvatī etymologically means a city of gods=meaning thereby, "a prosperous city".

The name of this place is Amarāvatī which is confused with another Amarāvatī in Berār, giving rise to the mistaken idea that Berār was called Dhankaṭak in ancient times, and that Bennā is the name of the two rivers Pain (Gaṅgā) and Bain (Gaṅgā) combined together, because they are flowing in this region. Vide f. n. no. 6 above and the paragraphs above connected with it.

It is found that this country was independent upto 6th. century B. C., but no details are available as to who were its rulers and to what dynasty they belonged. Jaina books state that Bimbisār, the son of the king of Magadh, had stayed as a visitor in Benntāt-nagar for two years and a half, when he had quarrelled with his father. From what is stated about the life of Bimbisār during these two and a half years, we can only infer that this country might have been independent at that time.

Who might have been the rulers of this country?

Historians have hitherto believed that this country was ruled by the brāhmin kings of the Kaṇva dynasty, and that the last king Suśarman was killed by Śimukh[12] a king of Āndhra dynasty, who then ascended the throne of this country. As to the origin of Kaṇva dynasty, they state that its founder Vāsudev had become the king of this country after killing Devbhūti, the last king of the Śuṅga dynasty. Now because these kings of Śuṅga dynasty were rulers of Avanti, the king of Kaṇva dynasty are also called the kings of Avanti. Again Vāsudev, the first king of Kaṇva dynasty was at first the prime minister of Devbhūti, the last king of Śuṅga dynasty, and hence his dynasty has also been given the name of Śuṅga-bhṛtya[13] (servant of Śuṅga kings). In support of all the above statements they have stated the account of Pusyamitra[14] which is as follows:—It is stated in the Hāthīgumafā inscription which is in a cave of mountain Udayagiri, and for which the emperor Khārvel of Kaliṅg is responsible; that (i) Khārvel had defeated Śimukh, the founder of Āndhra dynasty; (ii) later on, he subdued king Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh. This means that Khārvel, Śimukh,

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(12) See Pargiter's Dynastic List of the Kali Age.

(13) Bhritya=a servant; Śuṅga bhritya=a servant of the Śuṅgas (E. H. I. pp. 205). For the real meaning of the word, vide the account of Śuṅga dynasty in the volume. for the real meaning of the word Āndhrabhṛtya vide the account of the country of Āndhra.

(14) Some write "Pusyamitra"; while others write "Puṣpamitra". I have used both the names, but the more possible name is Pusyamitra.

and Bṛhaspatimitra were contemporaries. But when they could not trace any signs of this Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh, they declared that "Bṛhaspatimitra" meant "Puṣyamitra" of the Śuṅga dynasty because the etymological meaning of the word "Bṛhaspatimitra" is as follows:—Bṛhaspati means a planet who is the master and friend of a constellation named Puṣya, and Mitra=friend. On the other hand, they state that Devbhūti, the last king or Śuṅga dynasty (Puṣyamitra was the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty) was killed by his prime-minister Vāsudev (the first of Kaṇva dynasty), who then became the ruler of Avanti, and that Suśarman, the last king of this Kaṇva dynasty was killed by king Śimukh of Āndhra, who founded his own dynasty[15]. Now they had nothing to do but to fix up all these names and events chronologically and reasonably. They have done it thus:—Puṣyamitra, king of Avanti, was the first king of Śuṅga dynasty; the last king Devbhūti of the same dynasty was killed by his minister Vāsudev, who founded the Kaṇva dynasty and proclaimed himself as the ruler of Avanti. Then they said that the other name of his dynasty must be Śuṅgabhṛtya[16] because Vāsudev was a servant of a Śuṅga king. Then, the last king, Suśarman of this Kaṇva dynasty was killed by Śimukh, who then became the king of Avanti. The names of the dynasty of Śimukh are two:—Śātvāhan and Andhra. Thus the first king of Andhra dynasty is fixed by them to be the king of Avanti also; and because Puṣyamitra, Śimukh, and Khārvel were contemporaries, they fixed up their time to be 2nd century B. C. Thus these historians have built up an imaginative edifice on the strength of Hāthīgumafā inscription. But this edifice has no foundation[17]. I agree that due place must be given to imagination and guess-

(15) J. B. B. R. A. S. New series 1928. Vol. III. pp. 46; "It is evident that the king of Śātvahan dynasty (11th, 12th, or 13th) had murdered the last king of Kaṇva dynasty" (No reasons are given for this statement by the author).

Also vide pp. 250 Vol. 2 of "Bhārat no Prāchin Rāj Vaṃśa."

(16) C. H. I. Vol. I. pp. 224.

(17) I mean here to say that the facts given in Hāthīgumphā inscriptions have been twisted and misunderstood by them.

work; but at the same time our method of deducing conclusions must be strictly logical, which is not so in the case stated above. Śuṅga kings, beginning with Pusyamitra, ruled for 112 years; while Kaṇva kings, beginning with Vāsudev, ruled for 40–45[18] years; and the latter dynasty had succeeded the former. In all, kings of these two dynasties ruled over Avanti for 112+45=157 years This makes it clear that Suśarman, the last king of Kanva dynasty, ruled over Avanti nearly 150 years after Puṣyamitra, the first king of Śuṅga dynasty. Now historians have stated that Khārvel, Puṣyamitra, and Śimukh[19] were contemporaries, i. e. Śimukh also lived in this world nearly 150 before Suśarman, the last Kaṇva king. How, on earth, then, could this Śimukh have killed Suśarman, as these historians say he had? Did he live in this world for 220 years? (157 years of difference+30, the age at which he might have killed him+33 years of his own subsequent reign). This brings the whole edifice to the ground. Brhaspatimitra was surely not the other name of Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra, who is taken to be a contemporary either of Khārvel, or of Śimukh; neither the kings of Kaṇva dynasty have any connection with the country of Dhankaṭak, or of Avanti[20], nor king Śimukh is in any way connected with the murder of Suśarman. The facts are as follows:—(i) Śimukh and Khārvel were contemporaries; (ii) king Brhaspatimitra of Magadh and king Khārvel of Kaliṅg were also contemporaries; (iii) Vāsudev murdered his master and king, but he never became the ruler of Avanti, and so he cannot be said to have founded an independent dynasty[21].

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(18) "Pargiter's Dynastic List of the Kali Age" states it to be 45 years. J. B. B. R. A. S. New series, 1928 Volume III pp. 46. states it to be 40 years.

(19) Cf. f. n. no. 15 above.

(20) It had no connection either with the throne of Avanti or with the throne of Dhankaṭak. Vide the account of Śunga dynasty in Vol. III.

(21) I was at first of the opinion that kings of Kaṇva dynasty might have ruled either over Avanti, or over Dhankaṭak (in Berār), and its last king might have been killed by the Andhra king Śimukh, who might have annexed their country to Andhra. But further study caused me to change my opinion, which I have stated above.

I have stated above, only a summary of some of the misappropriations of historical events. I shall give details in proper places where they will be useful for understanding further facts.

I have stated above that this country was independent when Śreṇik, prince of Magadh, had gone to Bennātaṭnagar. It is possible that the country might have preserved its independence from that time (580 B. C.) upto the death of Kuṇik (496 B. C.). After that emperor Udāyin Bhata[22] ascended the throne of Magadh, and his sway extended upto the cape of Kanyākumārī (cape Comorin) not to talk Bennā-kaṭak. Thus this country lost its independence, and the prosperity of Bennātaṭnagar began to decline. It remained under the sway of Magadh hardly for ten years, after which kings of Chedi dynasty became its rulers[23] (475 B. C.). They ruled over it for nearly a century. We need not attach much importance to these changes in its rulers. I state here the names of various kings and dynasties who ruled over it after this time. After being ruled over by the ninth Nanda king, it came under the sway of emperor Chandragupta. Kings of Andhra dynasty ruled over it for the next half a century (during the reigns of Bindusār and Aśoka on Magadh). Emperor Priyadarśin again subdued it and brought it under the sway of Magadh. After his death, it again reasserted its independence and then remained independent for a long time. Thus many kings of various dynasties have ruled over it. This makes it unnecessary for us to give a list of chronologicaliy arranged names of its rulers, because every one of these dynasties ruled over other countries also, and their lists are given in the accounts of the countries with which they were directly connected.

On the west of Bennākaṭak was the country of Āndhra, on the west of which lies Mount Sahyāndrī, stretching from north to south. When Bennākatak was under the sway of Andhra kings, these two countries of Āndhra and Bennākaṭak might together

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(22) Vide the accounts of the kings mentioned here for further details.

(23) Vide the account of this dynasty and specially the paragraphs on Kśemrāj.

have been called "The greater Āndhra"[24], the capital of which must have been a city, situated in the central region of these two countries combined together. Varaṅgul, which is situated near the confluence of rivers Godāvarī and Prāṇhit or Chinur, which is just near it, or any other city[25] in the same region, might possibly have been selected as the capital.

We have seen above that Kaṇva dynasty had some connection with Śimukh of Śātvahan dynasty, and with Śuṅga kings of Avanti.

The country over which kings of Kaṇva dynasty ruled and their time

Now Śimukh had, as stated above, direct connection with the country of Dhankaṭak; while kings of Avanti were connected with Avanti; hence kings of Kaṇva dynasty (or anything like that) must also have connection with any of the above two countries.

We are here concerned with the account of Dhankaṭak. Naturally we should here state what connection Kaṇva dynasty had with it. But an attempt to give a separate account of the connection between them, would result into ambiguity. The reader is therefore requested to read the account in the chapters on Nanda dynasty. If we take the Kaṇva dynasty to have been founded at that time, its duration would be 472 B. C. to 427 B. C. But if we take it to have been founded during the time of Śuṅga kings of Avanti, the reader is requested to read discussion about it, in the chapters devoted to them.

Here I think it is necessary to draw the reader's attention to one fact. Neither the Jaina books nor the Bauddha books make any mention of Kaṇva dynasty; while in Purāṇās, a very interesting account is given of it. We have reasons to believe, that none of the four members of the Kaṇva dynasty might have been independent crowned kings; but they might have been as powerful as

(24) Greater Āndhra (Amarāvatī Stūpa A. S. Imperial Vol. 6 pp. 13). It is used in the same sense in which we use words like greater London, greater Bombay, greater Britain etc.

(25) According to some, its capital was Chandā, which is on river Pain, some miles from Chinur.

kings, or even more powerful; and because they were the followers of the vedic religion, the authors of the Purāṇās might have exaggerated the fact and described them as independent kings.

If we can show, that they were contemporaries of king Śimukh, their period of rule would be 472 B. C. to 427 B. C. i. e. 45 years[26]; but if we take them to be contemporaries of Śuṅga kings, their period of rule would be second century B. C. The duration of the rule of Śuṅga kings is 112 years. Out of these, for the first 22 years they were commanders-in-chief and for the remaining 90 years they were independent kings. (Vide their account in Vol. III). Out of these 90 years, the first 50 years were the time of powerful kings. When we have powerful kings on the throne, their ministers cannot lord over them. So, these Kaṇva ministers (because they were not kings) must have enjoyed full power during the last 40 or 45 years of the rule of Śuṅga kings, because during that time, there were weak Śuṅga kings on the throne. Hence their time would be 159 to 114 B. C.[27]. Thus we have two different periods of the rule of Kaṇva kings. (i) 472 to 427 B. C. (ii) 159 to 114 B. C. If we take their founder Vāsudev to be a contemporary of Śimukh, all difficulties would be over except two, which are as follows:—(i) the last Kaṇva king Suśarman ruled from 437 to 427 B. C. Now Buddharaj[28], king of Kaliṅg must have ruled over Kaliṅg upto 430 B. C. His heir-apparent Bhikhkhurāj or Kharvel of the famous Hāthīgumfā inscription is stated to have marched towards south after subduing his kingdom. So king Suśarman must at that time have yielded to his authority or must have been killed. But he was not killed because his reign lasted upto 427, i. e. he was alive for 3 years after his country was conquered. This means that Bhikhkhurāj allowed Suśarman to rule his country even after he was defeated by him, because the federal system of government prevailed at that time, and because it is stated in Hāthīgumfā inscription of Bhikhkhurāj that he brought

(26) I have proved the time of Śimukh to have been 427 B. C. in Vol. V.

(27) For the period of rule of Śuṅga dynasty, wide its account. Vol. III.

(28) Vide the account of king Buddharāj, in Vol. IV.

much wealth to his treasury from the many kings of southern countries like Pāṇḍyā. Thus king Suśarman was under the protection of the powerful king of Kaliṅg, which would have made impossible for a young king like Śimukh to have defeated or killed him (ii) secondly the king who was killed by Vāsudev was a licentious man. Suśarman also met his death due to the same vice, and almost all the members of the Kaṇva dynasty were men of loose character. In short, there was an atmosphere of lechery among all those kings and ministers. But neither during the rule of Buddharāj nor of Bhikhkhurāj, has the society been found to be generally loose in morals. The above two objections make it impossible for us to believe that Kaṇva kings, ever ruled on Dhankatak.

Let us take these members of the Kanva dynasty to have been powerful and overlording prime-ministers of the kings of Avanti, and examine the pros and cons of the problem.

(A) Points which prove that they were prime ministers:—

(i) It is clear that the people of Avanti were loose in morals at that time[29], because during the rule of Śuṅga kings many Aśvamedha sacrifices were performed and indecent scenes were presented in public places[30].

(ii) The five last Śuṅga kings were weak and their prime ministers were all powerful.

(iii) Some scholars have called Śuṅga kings and Kaṇvas to have been "contemporary rulers"[31].

(iv) The tenure of their reign (45 years) coincides with the tenure of the last five Śuṅga kings.

(v) It can be clearly shown that the last king Devabhūti did not die naturally but was murdered, i. e. whoever had become the ruler of Avanti must have

(29) Cf. the life of king Gandharvasen, the founder of Gardabhil dynasty, Vol. IV (incident of Sarasvatī). also cf. the story of Piṅgalā, the queen of king Bhartṛhari, the brother of Sakāri Vikramāditya.

(30) Vide the account of Śuṅga dynasty.

(31) Ibid.

killed both the last Śuṅga king and his Kaṇva prime minister.

(B) Points which go against:–There is only one point; which is, that Śimukh ascended the throne after murdering Devabhūti This contains little truth, because on the one hand it is stated that he was murdered by Śimukh, and on the other it is stated that he was killed by a courtesan who was bribed to do so[32]. Even if we take it for granted, that he was murdered by Śimukh, we have no evidence to prove it. It is a figment raised by historians by twisting facts stated in Hāthīgumfā inscription and thus declaring that Brhaspatimitra and Puspamitra were one and the same individual, and that Śimukh was his contemporary, because he was defeated by Khārvel. Really speaking Śimukh and Puspamitra have no connection whatsoever with each other and lived in different times[33]. In short, the statements that Kaṇva dynasty ruled over Dhankaṭak and that its period was the same as that of Śimukh are mere guess work, while the two difficulties that arose, if we took them to be contemporaries of Pusyamitra, were solid and based on historical facts. Consequently, looking to all pros and cons of the matter we come to the conclusion that the period of Kaṇva dynasty was the same as that of the last five Śuṅga kings.

An incident narrated in Jaina books, supports the above conclusion[34]. It is clearly stated therein that the Śuṅga king Bhānumitra, at the instigation of his minister[35] had forced a great

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(32) Vide Vol. III; of course, I have stated there, that the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti was killed by Vāsudev, the first of the Kaṇva dynasty, but it is more reasonable to believe that the last member of the Suṅga dynasty was killed, by the last member of the Kaṇva dynasty. The five points stated above support this.

(33) Vide accounts of Khārvel, Puspamitra, and Śimukh. I have discussed these things in details there.

(34) Vide the account of Śuṅga dynasty.

(35) Though we are not given the name of the ministers, yet we have reasons to believe that, these Kaṇva ministers were, like their Śuṅga kings, followers of the Vedic religion. It is an open fact that all the Śuṅga kings

Jaina monk named Kāliksūri to leave Avanti during monsoon[36]. Now, no king probably dares to interfere with religious rites and ceremonies of a faith, even if he himself belongs to another faith. Even if we take for granted, that such impossible event really took place, yet a Jaina monk might be persecuted by a king who is not a Jain, but not by a Jaina king. Now, if Dhankatak may be taken to have been under the rule of Kaṇva dynasty, this would have been impossible because Dhankaṭak was under the sway of the paramount power of emperor Khārvel, who was a Jain. Hence Kāliksūri must not have been persecuted by a king who was under the power of a Jaina emperor. Thus Kaṇva dynasty was connected with Avanti and not with Dhankaṭak.

Taking all these difficulties into consideration, it would be more reasonable to consider Kaṇva dynasty to be contemporary of the kings of Avanti, instead of Śimukh. I request the reader to act according to his own sense of judgment.

I have already stated that this Amarāvatī, and the Amarāvatī in Berār, are different cities. I here concern myself with that Amarāvatī which was the capital of Bennākaṭak or Dhankaṭak.

Information about Amarāvatī and its stūpa

At present this Amarāvatī is a small village. It became famous in history when the famous Amarāvatī stūpa was discovered while digging a hill near this village. The chief of Chintāpale district, which is just near this village, had got a palace built on this hill two hundred years ago Because this Amarāvatī is only a small village, historians have thought, that it represents only a subrub of the great old city. Now exactly half a mile in the west of this village, is another village named

were adversaries of Jainism, and missed no opportunity of persecuting Jains (Vide the account of Agnimitra and Patañjali in Vol. III). The Purāṇās also have stated that the members of Kaṇva dynasty were almost like kings, which proves that they must have been the cause of persecution of the Jains, even though the orders may have been issued in the name of the king, and that they have persecuted the Jains means, that they themselves were not Jains.

(36) It is a tenet of Jainism that monks should stay in the same place from the 14th day of Ashāḍh to the 14th day of Kārtik, i. e. 4 months.

Dharṇikoṭ. which, then was thought to be the capital of Dhanakaṭak. Finally historians have come to the conclusion that the old capital of Dhankaṭak or Bennākaṭak, must have spread between these two villages, and that its length or area was 3½ miles[37]. The stūpa which has been discovered here, is believed by the historians to be belonging to Bauddhās. I hold different opinions about the situation of the capital, and about this stūpa. I request the reader to read them in the account of emperor Khārvel, because they are connected with Hāthīgumfā inscription.

(12) ĀNDHRA

The forest of Daṇdka, which is often mentioned in Rāmāyaṇ and Mahābhārat, was included in the country of Āndhra, which stretched from the boundary line of Bennākaṭak to Mount Sahyāndri in the west. In very old times it was full of dense and impenetrable forests. In the 8th century B. C. the number of such forests had already decreased; while during the three succeeding centuries they were rapidly destroyed due to famines, and due to people find it necessary to cut them down, because they required more land, fit for human habitation[38]. The process of colonization began and thus Āndhra became the residence of civilized people. Further information about this country (as about Magadh) will be given in separate chapters.

(13) KALIṄG

I shall describe the boundaries of this country in the account of Chedi dynasty which ruled over it. I shall here attempt to to explain the meaning of the word " Trikaliṅg ", which is much used and discussed by historians.

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(37) A. R. S. I. Vol. I. (New. Imp. Series No. VI). 1882 pp. 13. " The town of Dharṇikoṭ is the ancient Dhānya-kaṭak or Dhanyakaṭak the capital of Mahā Andhra, and lies about eighteen miles in a direct line to the westward of Bezawāḍā on the south bank of the river Kṛṣṇā. It is said to have extended 3½ miles in length and half a mile to the east, of the modern town of Amarāvatī. A large town no doubt surrounded it.

(38) Vide f. n. no. 9 on pp. 50. Chapter III; and paragraphs in the text connected with it.

The etymological meaning of the word is "Tri=three, and Kaliṅg=the country of Kaliṅg". This does not mean that there were three different countries bearing the name of Kaling, which is improbable. It may mean a group of three neighbouring countries under the sway of Kaliṅg. It is not reasonable to believe that the sway of the rulers of Kaliṅg was over the same region at all times. The area of their kingdom might have increased at times, as well might have decreased at other times. Different neighbouring countries might have come under their sway at different times. Hence the word Trikaliṅg might have meant a combination of any three countries, which at a particular time, were under the sway of Kaliṅg kings i. e. the word does not mean a combination of the same three countries at all times. If thus the meaning of this word is rightly understood once for all, many confusions might be cleared up—confusions which purturb many historians.

Kaling and Trikaling

Due to the reason stated above, Trikaliṅg meant a group of three countries, Aṅga, Vaṃśa,[39] and Kaling during the reign of king Karkaṇḍu (or Mahāmeghvāhan[40]), the founder of Chedi dynasty; while during the reign of Khārvel, who is famous for his Hāthīguṃfā inscription, it meant a group of three countries named Kaliṅg, Cholā and Pāṇḍya. At still another time it meant a group of three countries named Kaliṅg, Vaṅga (coastal region of Baṅga deśa, or which was called Samtat) and Suvarṇabhūmi (coastal region of Burmā)[41]. It is possible that during the reign of some Andhra king, it might have meant a group of three countries named Kaliṅg, Āndhra and Cholā.

(39) See the previous pages of this volume.

(40) Cf. f. n. no. 144 in Chapter V, and the paragraphs in the text connected with it.

(41) Cf. f. n. no. 128 Chapter V, and the phragraphs in the text connected with it. Journal of Bihār Research Society, Vol. XIV, pp. 145. "It has been discovered that the Kaling people went to Burmā long before the Christian era and established a kingdom which comprised three districts and hence called Muḍu-kaliṅg (Muḍu means three in the Telaṅgu language) or Trikaliṅgās. Whole country was a part of the Trikaliṅgās. Tri–kaliṅg=Kaliṅg, Kongad and Utkal."

J. S. I. Vol. II, pp. 111, 164 Kaliṅga provinces of Telugu".

Chedi dynasty and the country over which it ruled

We have explained in the previous pages of this volume, that "Chedi deśa" is a time-old name, and existed even in the time of Mahābhārat; while Chedi dynasty began in the 6th century B. C. Chedi deśa and Chedi dynasty, thus were not connected from the very beginning. Like the word "Trikaliṅg", "Chedi deśa"[42] and Chedi dynasty had different meanings at different times.

Emperor Khārvel belonged to a Chedi dynasty which began at quite a different time from the Chedi dynasty which began with Karkaṇḍu. There have been later on, still two more Chedi dynasties (one of them ruled it about 243 A. D. and the second during 10th century A. D.). Thus many different Chedi dynasties have ruled over Chedi deśa, which has been the same throughout. Again the areas of the kingdoms of different Chedi dynasties also differed from one another. One has to be very careful in the use of these words.

Who was the founder of the Chedi dynasty?

It has been already stated that king Karkaṇḍu was born of Padmāvatī, queen of king Dadhivāhan of Aṅga[43]. But his birth-place was a forest near Dantpur, the capital of Vaṃśa or Chedi deśa. He was forced to leave this country, and had, by a fortunate coincidence[44] become the king of Kañchanpur, the capital of Kaliṅg. Afterwards he had become the ruler of both Kaliṅg

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Pp. 37 Vol. I of "Bhārat no Prāchin Rājvaṃśa", It is stated on the authority of Sir Cunningham that it consisted of Dhankaṭak, Andhra and Kaliṅg.

Dey's A. G. I. pp. 32; the whole coastal region on the south of Orissā. This will make it clear that Trikaliṅg meant a group of three countries which were different at different times.

(42) Though Chedideśa has represented the same region throughout, different opinions prevail as to its boundaries.

(43) Vide the comments on Chap. IX of the Jaina Āgamsūtra" Uttarādhyayan".

(44) The reasons for my holding this opinion are as follows:—(1) In Jaina books it is stated that (Vide pp. 88 Kalpa S. Com.). Mahāvīr stayed in Vajra-bhūmi. (1) (Vajra=hard, Bhūmi=soil. It means hard soil, that is such country in which religious preaching has very little effect on the minds of the audience),

and Chedi. Some time after this, Aṅga deśa was also annexed by him to his own kingdom, due to the death of Dadhivāhan, his father. Thus he became the ruler of three countries, which were

during the monsoon of the ninth year of his life as a monk., (i. e. in 559 B. C.). The king of this region was a friend of Mahāvīr's father Siddhārtha. (2) Secondly, we have the account of king Karkaṇḍu's birth in a forest after the elephant had run away with queen Padmāvatī, and his getting the throne of Kaliṅg by a fortunate coincidence. We have proved the time of his getting this throne as a young man, to be 528 B. C. (3) Mahāvīr, being a Tīrthankar might, have possibly gone on pilgrimages to places where the former twenty-three Tīrthaṅkars had attained salvation (Vide the account of Priyadarśin). One of these places is Sametśikhar, which is now called Pārśvanāth hill by non-Jains, and at the foot of which (ii) is a rock edict erected by the great Jaina Emperor Samprati, who has erected similar rock-edicts at all the other places of Tīrthaṅkars. Taking all these things into consideration one is induced to conjecture that the king of Vajrabhūmi, who was a friend of Siddhārtha, must have died shortly leaving no son behind him, and that Karkaṇḍu might have ascended the throne of Kaliṅg at the same time. (4) This conclusion is further supported by the fact that Vajrabhūmi means a country where religious preaching has very little effect on the mind of the people but not an uncivilized or Anārya (iii) country as some historians believe. A writer (iv) supports this opinion of mine : "In B. C. 7th century Kaliṅg was known as the kingdom of Āryāvarta". (v) Again it is not reasonable to believe that twenty of the twenty-four Jaina Tīrthankars might have selected an uncivilized region (vi) (Sametśikhar), as a fit place for releasing their souls for the attainment of salvation. (5) Kśemrāj was a king of Kaling; Karkaṇḍu was also a king of Kaliṅg. If we take Kśemrāj to be the third in the line, (and the time of his rule is about 472 B. C.) the interval between his reign and that of Karkaṇḍu, who was the first, is quite reasonable (vii) (6) The time of Karkaṇḍu also agrees with the time given in a list of Kaliṅg kings which is prepared by a writer (see above). I have conjectured Karkaṇḍu to be the founder of Chedi dynasty, after paying due attention to all these reasons. I would not wonder if it is accepted as a fact after some time.

Foot notes to f. n. no. 44.

(i) There is no mention of either the death of the king of Vajrabhūmi, or of his having no heir.

(ii) At the foot of Sametśikhar, was the city of Dhauli Jagudā (for further details vide the account of Priyadarśin), just as at the foot of Aṣṭāpad was Kālsi, at the foot of Girnār Jirṇanagar, at the foot of Champāpuri, Rupnāth and at the foot Pāvāpuri, Sāñchī (?).

together called Trikaliṅg[45]. We would naturally want to know the reason why he called his dynasty Chedi instead of Kaliṅg of which he had become the ruler first of all. The reason for this preference might be his desire to commemorate the name of Chedi + in which he was born and was brought up as a child. Again he had no blood relation with the former king of Kaliṅg. An adopted ruler generally begins a new dynasty with his own name. Karkaṇḍu[46]

(iii) It is supposed that this country was the hilly region of Himālaya on the north of Śrāvastī, because it was uncivilized.

(iv) Vide pp. 13 part I Vol. II. J. O. B. R. S.

(v) For the explanation of Ārya and Anārya countries vide paragraphs on it, in the first and second chapters.

(vi) Jaina monks prefer unhabited places to populous places in order to be as less in touch with worldly life as possible. Hence Mahāvīr might have selected this place which is on the boundary line of Orissā, (which was the boundary of Chedi or Vaṃśa deśa in olden times) instead of Dhauli Jaguḍā. Writers might have called it Vajrabhūmi because it was less civilized.

(vii) Vide the account of Chedi deśa for the length of this interval.

(45) Vide previous pages of the book.

+ J. O. B. R. S. XIII, P. 223. We know the Chedis, as the well-known Vedic and classical ruling family which seems to have migrated into Orissa from Mahakośal (J. N. I. Pp. 147, fn. 2).

(46) A writer (Pp. 9 to 14 of "Jaina Jāgṛti" (monthly;) no. 4 Vol. I published from Sāṅgli, Mahārāṣṭra) has supplied us the following list:—

(1) Sulochan; Surath.
(2) (Son-in-law) Śobhanrāy (Cheṭak's son) 508 B. C.
(3) 0
(4) 0
(5) 0
(6) Chaṇḍarāy...Contemporary, Nandrāj of Magadh; Vīra Era 149.
(7) 0
(8) 0
(9) Kśemrāj. 262 B. C. (Vīra Era 265) conquered by Aśoka.
(10) Buddharāj—Independent king of Kaliṅg.
(11) Emperor Khārvel Bhikhurāj.

(All the dates and vacant places in the above list are based on the assumption that Puṣpamitra—Bṛhaspatimitra was defeated by Khārvel, and therefore are wrong. The writer has given no proofs to support his list. I think there is some truth here, in the name of the founder).

might have founded a new dynasty due to any of the above stated motives. Hence Karkaṇdu was the founder of the Chedi dynasty[47].

Thus Karkaṇḍu must be taken to be the founder of the Chedi dynasty. It is difficult to fix the year in which it was founded. We have taken 577 B. C. to be the year of the birth of Karkaṇdu. In 558 B. C. he became the king of Kaliṅg[48] and when his father Dadhivāhan died in 556 B. C., he became the ruler of "Trikaliṅg", and began to call himself Meghvāhan in accordance with his father's name. Thus we can take either 558 B. C. or 556 B. C. to be the year in which Chedi dynasty was founded.

The time when Chedi dynasty was founded

It is possible also to fix a third date of the founding of this dynasty. Some historians say that emperor Khārvel was the third king of Chedi-dynasty, some say he was the sixth, and some state even a further number[49]. If we take him to be the third king, we shall have to take his grand father Kśemrāj as the founder of Chedi dynasty. (Khārvel's father was Buddharāj). Now Kśemrāj's reign is said to have began in 472 B. C.[50]. So in all, we have three dates: (1) 558 B. C. (2) 556 B. C. (3) 472 B. C.

We have seen how, a boy brought up in the house of the keeper of a cemetery, became king of Kaliṅg, and then of Trikaliṅg, by sheer luck and fortunate coincidences. He must have adopted the name of Meghvāhan, because there was a great

(47) Karkaṇdu can also be called "Pravṛtta Chakra"; and it is stated in the 17th line of Hāthigumfā inscriprion that Khārvel was a descendent of "Pravṛtta Chakra". (for the meaning of "Pravṛtta Chakra" vide the acconnt of Khārvel).

(48) We have stated its date to be 563 B. C. elsewhere, but 565 B. C. is more probable.

From the list given above, if we omit the vacant numbers, we will have six numbers, and the sixth is Khārvel. Do they mean 6th in this way?

(49) Cf. f. n. no. 46 and 48 above.

(50) Separate chapters will have to be written about all these details of Chedi dynasty.

amount of rainfall in his country due to its having dense forests; (Megh=rain, Vāhan=inducer). Again this name was in accordance with the name of his father[51] as he found later on, when he became the ruler of a large territory; because he got the kingdom of his father, he began to call himself "Mahāmeghvāhan"[52].

An account of the life of Karkaṇḍu

We have stated how he had jokingly asked the brahamin boy of Dantpur (whom he had promised a village if he became a king) to approach Dadhivāhan. As a result, he came to know his parents and his family. Only a short time after this, Champānagarī was invaded and plundered by Śatānik of Vatsa, and Dadhivāhan after running away to an unknown place, died. In 556 B. C. he became the ruler of Trikaliṅg, because of the union of Chedi, Kaliṅg and Aṅga.

Because he came to know of his real parents from his mother Padmāvatī, who had become a Jaina nun, he became devout Jain himself. He got a fine Jaina temple built in his capital Kañchanpur[53] and set up in it a gold idol[54] of Pārśvanāth[55]. No further information about his life is available, except

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(51) His fathers's name was Dadhivāhan: Meghvāhan is in accordance with it.

(52) His first name might have been different. He might have adopted the name "Mahāmeghvāhan" from this time.

(53) Kañchanpur=A city of gold. It might have been given this name because (1) The region surrounding it might have contained gold mines, (2) The city might have been a great trade centre. (3) It might have been so called to indicate the significance of that gold idol and hence Meghvāhan might have given this name. But this third reason is not possible, because Kañchanpur was its name even before Karkaṇḍu ascended the throne. It is possible that the gold idol might have been there, even before Kurkaṇḍu's time, and hence it might have derived its name from it. (We do not know the time, since when the idol was there). (Cf. f. n. no. 54, 65, 67 below).

(54) Mahāvīr was yet alive and had not acquired Kaivalyagnān. so he could not have been called a Tīrthaṅkar. Hence all the Jains can be called the devotees of Pārśvanāth, and hence worshipped him (see further).

(55) This is the first time in the history of Jaina religion when an idol

that how his reign ended. He had a favourite bull, which died. The king from thence began to feel that all things were transitory in the world, in which his interest was lost. He became a Jaina monk and then became Pratyek-buddha[56]. This took place in 537 B. C.[57]. His reign must have been peaceful, and for the good of the people.

Some have called Kšemrāj, the grandfather of Khārvel, to be the third king of the Chedi dynasty[58]. We have proved Meghvāhan to be the founder of the dynasty. We do not know the name of the second king. Meghvāhan's reign ended in 537 B. C.; while Kšemrāj's reign began in 472 B. C. So the intervening 65 years will have to be ascribed to the 2nd king. But it must not have happened so; (see the paragraph below) so we shall have to conclude that for a time, either between the second and the third, or between the third and the fourth, Kaling's independence might have been lost and the rule of the Chedi dynasty destroyed.

Further details about his dynasty

It is clearly stated in the Hāthīgumfā inscription that Nanda, king of Magadh, had invaded Kaling during the reign of Kšemrāj, had defeated him, and had carried away the famous Jaina idol to Magadh. This proves that Kaling was an independent

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of a Tīrthankar was set up (557 B. C.). Though Vijayāyanandsūri has stated that at Bhadrešver in Cutch an idol was set up in Pāršvanāth Era 23 (754 B.C.); we are not certain whether 23 really denotes Pāršva Era. (Ānanda; Bhāvnagar).

(56) Bharatešvar B. V. pp. 105–106 & 213: Pratyek-buddha=Self-made monk, one who has not followed any preceptor. Again it is a rule that a Pratyek-buddha acquires Kaivalyagnān first and then salvation. The reader will see in the account of Sindhu-Sauvīr, that Udāyan was the last king, to attain salvation. Hence monk Karkandu died before monk Udāyan. One who acquires Kaivalyagnān is called a "Pravrtta Chakra" (Vide the account of king Khārvel, and paragraphs of Hāthīgumfā inscription).

(57) Vide the account of king Šrenik.

(58) If we take Khārvel to be the sixth, Kšemrāj should be taken to be the fourth and Buddharāj to be the fifth; but no one has taken Khārvel to be the fifth, so Kšemrāj can be taken to be the fourth but-not to be the 3rd, definitely. (cf. f. n. no. 64).

country at the time of invasion, otherwise, it would not have been necessary for Nand to invade it. This Nand was Nand the first or Nandivardhan[59]. This means that Kaliṅg was an independent country during the reign of Nand the first. (473–456 B. C.) Again emperor Udāyin of Magadh (who ruled from 496 B. C. to 480 B. C.), had conquered the whole southern India upto Cape Comorin; i. e. Kaliṅg was under the sway of Udāyin[60]. In short Kaliṅg was not an independent country from 496 B. C. or 492 B. C. (M. E. 31 or 35[61]), to 475 or 472 B. C. (M. E. 52 or 55) which is the year of the beginning of the reign of Kśemrāj[62]. For 17 years it was under the sway of the king of Magadh.

We can, thus, arrange the chronological list of the Chedi dynasty as follows:—

		B. C.		B. M. E.	
(1)	Meghvāhan.	558–537	21	31–10	
(2–3)	Members	537–492	45	10–35 M. E.	
	Kaliṅg lost its independence.	492–475	17	35–	52
(4)	Kśemrāj.	475–439	36	52–	88

Now we shall make an attempt to find out the names of the second and third rulers and the tenures of their reigns. In foot note no. 46, Sulochan or Surath is stated to be the first king, who was followed by his son-in-law Śobhan-ray. Though the writer has given no evidence[63] in support of his names, yet his list seems to contain some truth, if not the whole. So we shall accept his names. Now let us think out the relation between them. The second king in the list has been called the son of

(59) Vide the account of his life further in this book.

(60) This event is known in history—as "Aṅgamagadhā" (Purātattva Vol. II pp. 233. because Aṅga was a part of the kingdom of Kaliṅg.

(61) Udāyin changed his capital to Pātliputra. Then he conquered Kaliṅg. B. C. 492. (Vide the account of his life).

(62) Vide the account of Chedi dynasty for Kśemrāj, Buddharāj and Bhikhurāj.

(63) "Anekanta" monthly from Delhi 1930, Vol. I, no. 376.

Cheṭak. But Cheṭak died leaving no son behind him, and his kingdom of Vaiśālī was annexed to the kingdom of Magadh by Kuṇik[63]. So he must not have been the son of Cheṭak. He must have been related with the family of Cheṭak because Karaṇḍu's father Dadhivāhan was a son-in-law of Cheṭak. It appears that the writer has committed some mistake while adopting his material from the original book. (It might have been a mistake in the script of the original book). Let us rearrange the list as follows:—

(1)	(Son of Dadhivāhan, son-in-law of Cheṭak[64]	Sulochan or (Karkaṇḍu the founder of Chedi dynasty)
(2)	(Son-in-law?)	Surath (Karkaṇḍu died leaving no son behind him. So his son-in-law might have succeeded him.
(3)	(Son)	(Śobhan-rāy) Then the throne was vacant for some years (M. E. 35 to M. E. 52) and then Kśemrāj ascended the throne.

Let us now fix up their years of rule. The writer states the time of Śobhan-rāy as Vīra E. 18. We have stated that Kaliṅg lost its independence in Vīra Era 35. So the tenure of

(63) Vide pp. 133, Chapter V.

(64) If we take Sulochan to be Dadhivāhan, he is the son-in-law of Cheṭak. If we take him to be the founder, we shall have to take his son to be Surath, or Karkaṇḍu, or Meghvāhan, as follows:—

(1) Surath (3) Chand-rāy
(2) Śobhan-rāy (son-in-law) (4) Kśemrāj.

If we arrange the list thus, the interregnum will have to be dropped, and the continuity of the Chedi dynasty would be preserved, and Chandray would have to be taken to be a vassal of Udāyan Bhat. Then Ksemrāj, after Chandrāy's death, took advantage of the weakness of Magadha kings, and declared the independence of Kaliṅg. We shall have to arrange facts thus. Which of the two theories is better, we leave to the scholars to decide ?

the reign of Śobhan-rāy would be 18 to 17 years. Hence Surath's time would be from 537 B. C. (B. M. 10) to 509 B. C. (M. E. 18). Let us restate the list to avoid the possibility of mistake.

(1) Sulochan : Karkaṇḍu : Mahāmeghvāhan.

558 B. C. to 537 B. C. 21 years. (B. M. 31 to B. M. 10).

(2) Surath. (Son-in-law)

537 B. C. to 509 B. C. 28 years. (B. M. 10 to M. E. 18)

(3) Śobhan-rāy (Son)

509 B. C. to 492 B. C. 17 years. (M. E. 18 to 35).

Interregnum (under the sway of Magadh 492 to 475 B. C. (M. E. 35 to 52)

(It is better to ascribe this seventeen years to the rule of Chaṇḍrāy; while taking Śobhan-rāy & Chaṇḍrāy to be the same, his total tenure of reign will be 34 years.

(4) Kśemrāj. 475 B. C. to 439 B. C.=36 (M. E. 52 to 88).

(5) Buddha-rāj
(6) Bhikhkhu-rāj } Vide the account of Chedi dynasty.

Another alternative

We already know that emperor Karkaṇḍu was the lord of the trio of countries named Aṅga, Vaṃśa, and Kaliṅg. Again, Śreṇik had annexed his kingdom to the empire of Magadh, when Karkaṇḍu died without a son. On the other hand, evidence given in succeeding pages, will lead us to believe that he was succeeded by his son-in-law. When Ajātśatru became the emperor of Magadh he changed his capital from Rājgṛhī to Champāpurī which was situated in Aṅgadeśa. This fact makes us conclude that Aṅgadeśa must have been under the direct power of the Magadha Empire. Hence Śreṇik must have placed the remaining two countries, namely, Kaliṅg and Vaṃśa, under the power of the son-in-law of Karkaṇḍu. This must have been the reason of the people speaking of Aṅga and Magadh in the same breath as "Aṅga-Magadhā".

Due to the prevalence of the federal system of government in those times, Kaliṅg, though under the suzerainty of Magadh must have been a semi-free country, right from 537 B. C. to

492 B. C. when emperor Udāyan who made Pātliputra his capital came to the throne. Udāyan subjected it to his direct rule, and this condition continued upto the sudden death of emperor Anuruddha in 474 B. C. The next emperor Mund was not much interested in the affairs of his kingdom; hence, Kśemrāj, a descendant of Karkaṇḍu took advantage of the opportunity and proclaimed himself the independent king of Kaliṅg. Thus we come to the conclusion that both Surath and Śobanrāy were semi-independent vassals of the emperors of Magadh under a federal regime. After the death of the latter, there followed an interregnum of seventeen years, (or we may take the other alternative of considering Chaṇḍa-rāy as a vassal-king for these years).

Thus we have three alternatives for Kaliṅg during 537 to 475 B. C.=62 years.

(1) As a part of Magadha Empire for all the 62 years.

(2) For first 45 years according to the federal system of government, and for last 17 years as a part of the Magadha Empire.

(3) For first 45 years according to the federal system, and as a vassal of the Magadha Empire for last 17 years. I am inclined towards the second alternative.

Something about that gold idol

We know that Karkaṇḍu was a Jain. It was one of the conventions of Jainism that all the Jains considered themselves to be the followers of the preceding Tīrthankar as long as the next Tīrthaṅkar did not acquire "Kaivalya" gnān; after obtaining which, only he can preach his gospel among the Jains. Karkaṇḍu, thus, was a follower of Pārśvanāth, because during his lifetime the next Tīrthaṅkar, Mahāvīr, had not acquired "Kaivalya gnān". It is but natural that he might have established an idol of Pārśvanāth on account of his devotion to him; and we know that he had established[65] an idol of Pārśvanāth in his capital.

(65) It is not known whether he got this idol newly made or brought it from some other place because of its majesty. The second alternative is more possible than the first; cf. f. n. nos, 53 and 68).

The efforts of kshatriyās to vindicate their self-respect under all circumstances need no new introduction here. They are known to have sacrificed their lives even for the protection of things temporal; the more they would do so, for things religious and spiritual. Again, in those times, even an ordinary man, not to talk of these kshatriya warriors, considered all worldly things to be of less value than religious or spiritual things, and was ready to sacrifice anything, even his life for the sake of his religion. Hence Kśemrāj must have felt the insult very deeply, when the emperor of Magadh, Nanda the first, invaded Kaliṅg and took away by force that gold image; he must have made several efforts in vain to regain the idol from Nand, who was very powerful. But he had no alternative but to swallow the insult, as he was only a small king, (we know that he was the reviver of Chedi dynasty). The insult was too deep to be forgotten by his descendants; and his grandson, emperor Khārvel, as we read in the Hāthīgumfā inscription, not only recovered the idol from Bṛhaspatimitra, the successor of Nand, but made him lie down prostrate before that same idol (a very great insult for an emperor like him.) Then he re-established the idol in his capital.

Perhaps some of my readers will think it foolish on the part of these great emperors to shed blood of innumerable men and beasts for a trifling[66] and life-less[67] thing like an idol. But the readers must realise that these kshatriya kings were great worshippers of such idols. Again the idol itself, even to-day, is so majestic and awe-inspiring[68], that whoever sees it even to-day will feel, that those emperors were justified in shedding so much blood for it. (We shall have to discus this matter in detail in the account of Emperor Khārvel).

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(66) Trifling, because kings are generally found to be fighting for territories and not for idols.

(67) Certainly there is no real life in an idol, its devotees invest it with a sort of divine life because they are inspired to do so.

(68) This idol must have been of a very ancient origin; Karkaṇḍu might have established it in his capital because of this.

Successors of Karkaṇḍu

Little is known about the lives, or the events during the reigns, of both Surath and Śobhanrāy. After Śobhanrāy, either there was an interregnum of seventeen years, or Chaṇdrāj reigned as a vassal of Magadh. Then, some historians have called Kśemrāj to be the reviver of the Chedi dynasty, and some have called[69] him the fourth in the line. It is more reasonable to believe that Kśemrāj was not the fourth but the fifth in line, because it would have been almost impossible for him to have revived the Chedi dynasty, had Udāyan[70] whose power spread to the farthest southern end of India, exterminated the dynasty and annexed Kaliṅg to the empire of Magadh. Hence we must admit the possibility of Chaṇdrāy nominally ruling over Kaliṅg during these seventeen years, because kings of those times had no great fascination for increasing their territories[71], their ambition being satisfied when other kings acknowledged their suzerainty[72]. Again, Hāthīgumfā inscription[73] informs us that emperor Nand has been very angry when Kśemrāj revived his dynasty[74]. All the details about how he established his claim and independence will be given in the chapter on the account of the Chedi dynasty.

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(69) Kśemrāj really deserves a tribute because he revived the Chedi dynasty after a long period, during which both Śobhanrāy and Chaṇḍrāy were content to be vassals of the emperor of Magadh. (Cf. f. n. 64).

(70) Vide the account of Udāyanbhat for details.

(71) Historical events show us that this desire for territorial expansion increased very much among kings after the death of emperor Priyadarśin.

(72) Inscriptions by Priyadarśin prove this, as clearly as day-light.

(73) In line 17, emperor Khārvel declares himself to be the descendant of "Pravṛttachakra"; for the meaning of which vide the account of emperor Khārvel.

(74) An emperor Muṇd of Magadh was weak-minded, hence Kśemrāj took advantage of the opportunity and revived his dynasty. Nandivardhan, the prime minister and the commander-in-chief of Magadh, murdered the emperor, and himself became the emperor of Magadh; he then invaded Kaliṅg. (for details vide the account of Nandivardhan.

(14) AVANTI-MĀLVĀ

The descriptions of the famous Chinese traveller Hu-en-Chāng have been translated into English, and have been published as the "Records of the Western World"[75]. In them, Mālvā and Ujjayinī have been stated to be separate provinces having equal areas[76] i. e. 3,000 Lis., and their capitals also having equal areas, i. e. 30 Lis. It is further stated that the river Mahī flowed both to the south and to the east of the capital of Mālvā[77], that on the N. W. of Mālvā was the country of Bhrgukachchha with an area of 2,000 Lis.; that on the S. E. of Bhrgukachchha was the country of Gurjar with an area of 2,800 Lis.[78]. The above statements make it very clear that at sometimes (i. e. in 634 B. C.) Ujjayinī and Mālvā were separate provinces. In support of this, we can quote Mr. Rhys Davis, who says[79], " It was called Avanti at least as late as the second century A. D. (Vide Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh) but from the 7th or 8th century, it was called Mālvā[80]."

Hence we come to the following conclusions:-(i) Upto the time when the inscription was made at Junāgadh both the provinces were known by only one name of Avanti (dividedin to East Ākarāvanti and West Ākarāvanti)[81]. (ii) From 533 A. D. (It

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(75) Vide pp. 260 to 270 of volume II, and f. n. no. 32, 61 and 62.

(76) 1 Li.= $\frac{1}{7}$ mile (sometimes it is $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$ of a mile).

(77) Dhārā-nagarī must have been the capital of Mālvā at this time.

(78) Vide Chapter III for the boundaries of these two countries.

(79) "The Buddhistic India" pp. 28.

(80) In the monthly named "Jaina Dharma Prakāś" (No. 43 Pp. 420-24 of 1928 A. D.) the present writer has proved, that the Mālava Era began in 517 A. D., (533 A. D is another alternative, because the Vikrama year at that time was 589), and that the founder of the Parmār dynasty was king Yaśodharman or Vikramāditya (Vide Pre. CCXIX of "Goḍvaho" by Mr. Hall), or Śilāditya. It is a well-known historical fact that from 533 A. D. onwards Rajputs were divided into four families, or dynasties.

(81) This word has four meanings as explained below.—

(a) The word "Ākara" means a "mine" or a "collection". In the eastern portion of Avanti there were many rock and pillar inscriptions; hence the

ought to be really 517 A. D.), when the Parmār dynasty was established, they were known by two separate names of Mālvā and Ujjayinī with areas already stated above; they continued to

eastern portion might have reasonably been called "Eastern Ākarāvanti". In the western portion, however, there are no such inscriptions; hence it can be called only "Western Avanti" but not "Western Ākarāvanti".

(b) The word "Ākara" might have been the name of a particular region. (Vide the account of Sindh Sauvīra) Perhaps the region of Sāñchī and Bhilsā might have been given this name.

(c) In E. I. Vol. VIII, (in the rock-inscription of the lake Sudarśan), the words "Purvāparākar" and "Avanti" have been used as if they were separate words. Scholars have said that here "Apara" means the "West" because the preceding word is "Pūrva", which means the "East". This is not a proper meaning, because it would thus have a grammatical error. The word "Avanti" has been used in the singular. If the word "Purvāpara" had meant Eastern and Western Avanti, Avanti must have been used in the dual number i. e. Avantee and not Avanti, which is singular. Again, in that case, instead of "Purvāparākar", which is in the singular, the correct grammatical form should have been "Purvāparākarau" which is the dual form; and the whole would have been written as "Purvāparākārau Avantee", or better still, as the word "Ākara" in this case, becomes rather superfluous, it would have been "Purvāparau Avantee". Had the writer wanted to use one compound word for both the words, he would have written "Purvāparākarāvanti". But as the writer has written in none of the above stated ways, but has chosen to write "Purvāparākar" and "Avanti", the word "Apar" means the "hind part", just as "Apara-rātri" means the "hind part of the night". Thus it would mean "that eastern region of Avanti in the hind parts of which" are situated the numerous pillar inscriptions.

(d) The eastern portion has two names, "Ākar" and "Daśārṇa" [1].

The present writer finds the meanings given in (b) and (c) to be more satisfactory than those in (a) and (d).

[1] (Vide Purātattva Vol. I pp. 52. The word "Daśarṇa" is said to have meant "ten parts". When king Udāyin of Sindh Sauvīr was returning from Avanti, he had encamped himself near a city named Daśpur, and had divided his army into ten parts. Hence the place was named "Daśarṇa". But this seems hardly possible, because, in that case, "Daśarṇa" must have been in the west of Avanti, towards which direction Udāyin was going to his country. We are talking here about the east of Avanti and not of the west. The word "Daśārṇavṛt", however, has been used in Jaina books, and there it means the "eastern mountainous region of Avanti".

have two names upto the coming of Hu-en-Chāng in India in 634 A. D. (iii) In the beginning of the 8th century[82] these two names combined into one, i. e. Mālvā.

All the present historians of ancient India hold the opinion that the capital of Eastern Ākarāvanti was Vidiśā[83], and that the capital of the Western Ākarāvanti was Ujjainī. I differ from them in one point. I believe that the capital of the Eastern Ākarāvanti was Sāñchī, the present Sāñchīgām where many pillar inscriptions are found even to-day.

Capitals of these provinces

The population of this city was spread over a large area, and its north-east portion was called Vidiśā[84]. The city proper was in the west of Vidiśā (see the map, below) and was called Sāñchīpurī[85]. Thus

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(82) I believe that this event took place during the reign of the famous king Bhoj of Mālvā (620-680 A. D.). Hu-en-Chāng visited Mālvā during his reign. In his court flourished the two famous Sanskrit poets Bāṇa and Mayur, and also the famous Jaina monk "Māntungsūri". This Jaina monk was imprisoned by the king, as he was envied and intrigued against by those two Sanskrit poets. But the monk broke open the locks of 44 cellars by composing 44 verses in praise of his highest god. These 44 verses are collected together and known as "Bhaktāmar-stotra". Even to day the Jains take pride in committing them to memory.

(83) Scholars are of the opinion that the origin of Vidiśā was Besnagar, or Bhilsā of to-day. Sir Cunningham, however, says, (Arch. Sur. Ind. 1874-75 Vol. X pp. 34), "Bhilsā is said to have been founded after the desertion of Besnagar, but it seems more probable that the foundation of Bhilsā led to the abandonment of the old city".

(84) In Sanskrit literature as well as in Śāstrās, the word "Vidiśā" has been used in the sense of a corner between any two directions. (Kal. Sut. Com. pp. 131.)

Hence that portion of the capital which might have been in a particular corner, might have been given the name of "Vidiśā because it was situated in a "Vidiśā, (i. e. between any two directions).

"Kalpasūtra commentary pp. 59 tells us that the word "Ākar means "the place where iron is found. If we have a look at the map of the region about Vidiśā, we shall be convinced of the truth of the above statement.

(85) Either Sāñchīpurī might have been the city proper and Vidiśā its suburb or vice versa; but it is certain that one of the alternatives is true (for details vide further pages).

Vidiśa was a suburb of a city and not an independent city. Similarly the capital of Videha, Viśālā, was divided into three parts, namely, Kshatriya-kuṇḍgrām, Vaṇijyagrām, and Brahman-kuṇḍgrām, and that, out of these, Brahman-kuṇḍgrām was Viśālā proper. Vidiśā was the place of residence of the rich people of Sāñchīpuri, while Sañchīpuri itself contains most of the pillar inscriptions, gardens, and recreation grounds[86]. It began to be thickly crowded by rich people, when the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta[87] got his royal palace built there and decided to reside there for a certain period of every year[88]. It grew in importance to such an extent that either the heir to the throne or a very near relative of the king, used to be appointed as the governor of the city and the surrounding district[89]. This continued upto the end of the reign of Aśoka. The next emperor, Priyadarśin, made it the capital of his empire. Sāñchīpuri has played a unique part in the history of Jainism; details about which will be given in the accounts of Chandragupta[90] and Priyadarśin. It will suffice here to say that Sāñchīpuri and the pillars about it, are connected with Jainism[91] and not with Buddhism, as the scholars believe to-day.

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(86) It was that hilly region which was frequented by saints and sages. (Vide pp. 175 fn. [1] and pp. 49 fn. [24] for the description of Daśārṇa).

(87) It had ceased to be the capital from M. E. 60 to M. E. 155 (95 years) i. e. from the time of the annexation of Avanti to Magadh upto the ascension of Chandragupta to the throne.

(88) It was in this city, that Chandragupta had dreamt dreams which he had related to the Jaina monk Śree Bhadrabāhu (Vide the account of Chandragupta).

(89) For instance, Aśoka was appointed the governor while Bindusār was the king, and Kuṇāl was appointed when Aśoka was the king.

(90) Vide pp. 154 "Bhilsā Topes" by Cunningham. It is stated therein, that the donation of Chandragupta to that tope, amounted to 25 thousand Paṇas (name of a coin) every year (i. e. 250 thousand rupees). It has already been proved beyond doubt that Chandragupta was a Jain and that he had become a Jaina monk in his old age, which makes it clear that the pillar inscriptions made by him near Sāñchīpurī are connected with Jainism.

(91) See f. n. above.

This city has been considered to be one of the seven ancient and famous cities of India[92]. It was a place for pilgrimage[93] as well as a centre of political activities, Its importance in Western India was as much as that of Takśilā in northern India[94].

Some more details about Ujjain

Upto the beginning of the rule of the kings of Pradyota dynasty on Avanti, Ujjain played an important part as its capital, but just as king Prasenjit of Magadh[95] had to change his capital from Kuśāgrapur to Rājgṛhī (Girivraja), because the former was a frequent prey to great fires,[96] similarly, Chaṇḍa was often thinking of changing his capital from Ujjain to some other safer place, because Ujjain, too, was time and again attacked by fire. Moreover a great fire broke out during his own reign. His queen, Śivādevī[97]

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(92) C. H. I. pp. 531. "It is held as one of the most famous of all the cities of India.

(93) These seven are recorded in the following couplet:—

Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñchī Avantīkā ।
Purī, Dwārāvatī chaiva saptaitā mokśa-dāyikā ॥

Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśi, Kāñchī, Avantikā, and Dvārāvatī:—These seven cities are givers of heaven.

For the changes that can be made in this couplet (both according to Jainism and the Vedic religion), vide the account of emperor Khārvel.

(94) E. H. I. (V. Smith) 3rd. edi. pp. 155.

"Ujjain, the capital of western India, was equally famous (like Takśilā) and equally suitable as the seat of viceregal governments".

"Ujjain the capital of Avanti". (Pro. Hultz. Cor. Inscr. Ind. Vol. I. Intro. XXXVIII).

Rec. West. World, vol. II. pp. 270 f. n. no. 82;—"Ujjain is probably the capital of Avanti in Mālvā, the capital of Chaṣṭan".

E. H. I. pp. 166—"Ujjain began to play an important role in the history of India from the time of Aśoka" (it ought to be Priyadarśin).

(95) The name of Emperor Śreṇik's father was Prasenjit. Vide the account of Magadh for details.

(96) In building up the cities in those times, wood was much used, because there were many dense forests in those times.

(97) Vide pp. 127 above.

however, put out the fire wholly, with the spiritual strength of her character[98], and hence the king dropped the idea of changing his capital. This was the last attack of fire on Ujjain, which was seriously damaged by it, though it continued to be the capital. King Chaṇda died in 527 B. C. For the next sixty years, Ujjain remained in the same condition. After that, Avanti was brought under the rule of the Magadha Empire (467 B. C.), and the importance of Ujjain was on the way to its decline. In its place Bhilsā, which was situated 120 miles to its east[99], and which was surrounded by hilly regions, began to be inhabited by rich merchants[100] and in a short time, it became a place of greater importance. When Chandragupta became the emperor of Magadh he got a palace built there, and decided to reside there for a particular period of each year, due to his devotion to religion. Ujjain was almost forgotten, and the importance of this new city increased by leaps and bounds. Then Avanti was divided into two parts[101]; Ujjain was fixed up as the capital of the western division, while this Vidiśā (or Besnagar) was declared to be the capital of the eastern Avanti, which was regarded as so important a province of the Magadha Empire that either the throne of Magadh or a very near relation of the king used to be appointed its governor. Bindusār was the first prince to be appointed as the governor of this division. When Bindusār succeeded Chandragupta on the throne, appointed his son Aśoka, who, when he came to the throne, appointed his son Kuṇāl. From the time of his son, Emperor Priyadarśin Sāñchīnagar (Vidiśānagarī) was made the capital of the whole of India. During the rule of the kings of Śuṅga dynasty, it seems that the old Ujjain was revived, and Sāñchīnagar began to decline. These kings being the followers of the Vedic religion, Jainism and hence Jaina places of pilgrimage, had

(98) Bharateśvara B. Vritti. Trans. pp. 333.

(99) "Coins of Ant. India". pp. 94. "Ujjain, the present town 36 miles N. of Indore, 120 miles nearly due west of Bhilsā".

(100) Read further in this chapter.

(101) This is to be taken to be true of it: it was really divided into two parts,

to suffer much, during their rule. During the reign of Vīr Vikramāditya of the Gardabhil dynasty, Ujjain was again made the capital of the whole of India. In the first century B. C. Ujjaini was also called Viśālāpuri[102]. Again, it was also called Ayodhyā (Ayuddhā). We do not know why it was so called. We can only guess that as word Ayuddha means "a city the king of which was invincible," Ujjaini might have been so called.

During the rule of the kings of the Chaṣṭhana dynasty and Gupta dynasty, Ujjaini maintained its prosperity. Then it began to decline with the decline of the Guptas. Though we are not concerned with Ujjaini's later history, yet the writer wants to throw some light on it, so that it might be of help to students of history. Ujjaini declined steadily upto 517 A. D. when it was again revived by the Parmār kings of Māḷvā[103], who established their power over the whole of Avanti, except its northern portion which was under the rule of the king of Kanoj of the Pratihār dynasty[104]. Both Ujjain and Dhārānagarī were made capitals of Mālvā, in the time of king Bhoj whose court was visited by Hu-en-Chāng.[105]

The above-stated details give us to understand that Vidiśa-Sāñchīpurī, Ujjaini, and Dhārānagarī were very important places in those times; they were prosperous and flourishing centres of trade and political activities. Trunk roads united them with the capitals of other countries[106]. One of such trunk roads existed between Ujjaini and Kauśāmbī via Godhi, Diviśā[107] and Vālsevat.

It is but proper that the description of Avanti should include all available information about its capital. As stated above, most of the modern historians of ancient India are of the opinion that

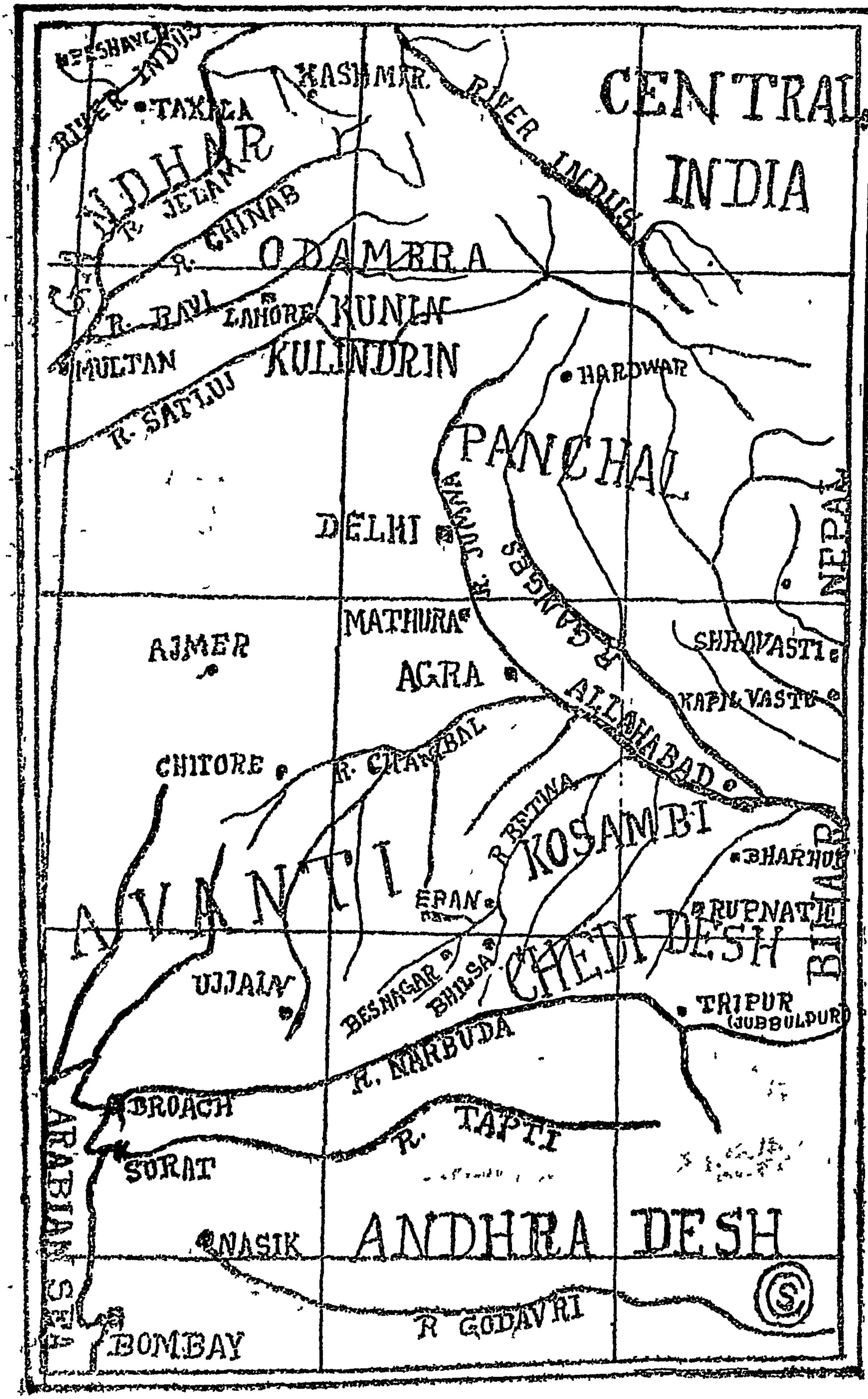
(102) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX. pp. 140 by Dr. Bhāu Dāji.

(103-104). See the geneological lines of the Parmār and the Pratihār dynasties further on.

(105) See f. n. nos. 80 and 82.

(106) Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism" pp. 333-34.

(107) " Here Diwisā is most probably a corrupt form of Vidiśā or Besnagar near Bhilsā ("Stūpa of Bhārhuta" by Sir Cunningham p. 2.).

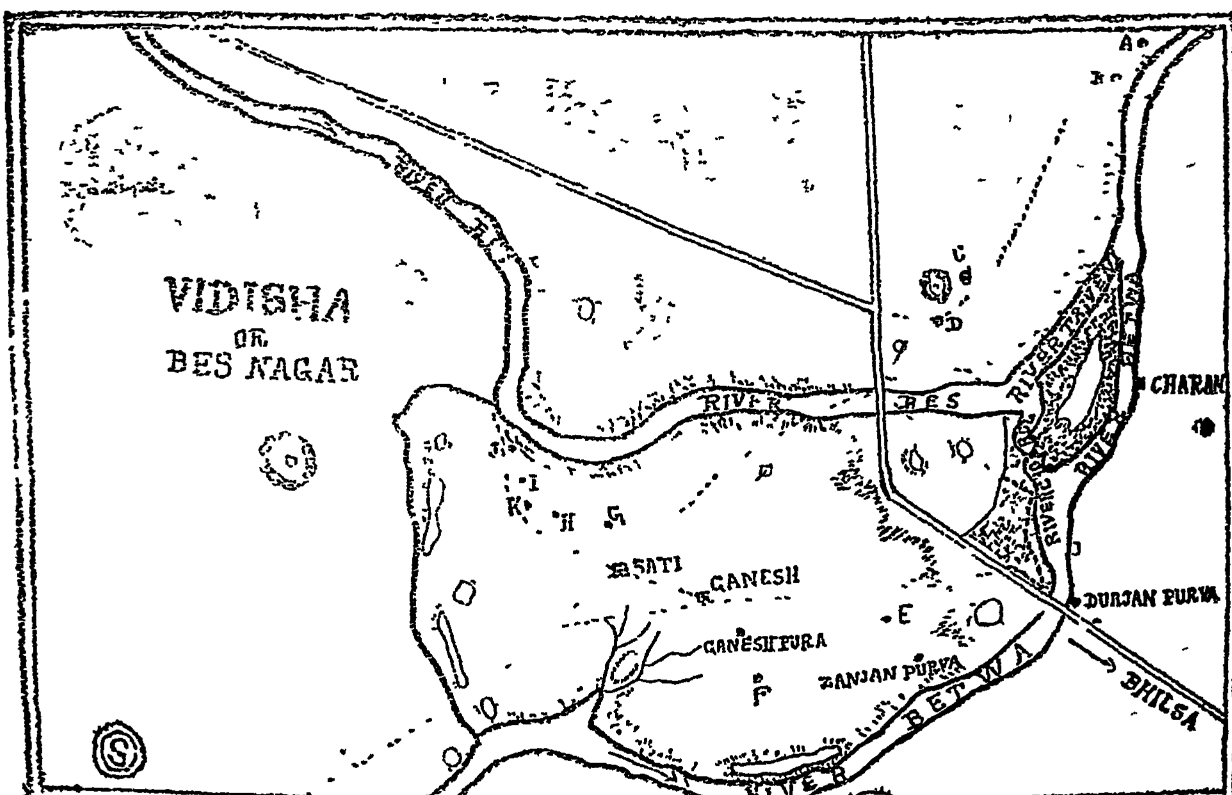

TAXILA
KASHMIR
RIVER INDUS
CENTRAL
INDIA
R. JELAM
R. CHINAB
ODAMBRA
R. RAVI
LAHORE
KUNIN
MULTAN
KULINDRIN
R. SATLUJ
HARDWAR
PANCHAL
R. JUMNA
GANGES
NEPAL
DELHI
MATHURA
AJMER
AGRA
SHRAVASTI
KAPILVASTU
ALLAHABAD
CHITORE
R. CHAMBAL
R. BETWA
KOSAMBI
AVANTI
ERAN
BHARHUT
RUPNATH
BIHAR
CHEDI DESH
UJJAIN
BESNAGAR
BHILSA
TRIPUR
(JUBBULPUR)
R. NARBUDA
BROACH
R. TAPTI
SURAT
ARABIAN SEA
NASIK
ANDHRA DESH
R GODAVRI
BOMBAY

this country was divided into two parts. My opinion is that this was not divided into two parts, but it had different capitals at different times. Leaving the decision of this dispute to the future historians, I shall turn to a fuller account of Vidiśā, as it throws much light on other matters pertaining to history.

The history and the explanation of the different names of the capital

We have four different names of Vidiśā :— (i) Vidiśā, (ii) Besnagar, (iii) Sāñchī or Sañchī, and (iv) Bhilsā. Let us take them one by one :—

(i) Vidiśa :—I have already stated in foot note no. 84, that Vidiśā was not the name of one whole city, but that it was the name of a suburb of a great city. The word "Vidiśa" means "a part which is not situated in any particular direction." Hence Vidiśā must have been situated between any two directions. (See the adjoring map.



(ii) Besnagar :—This name is mentioned in Bauddha books only. We have reasons to believe that it must have been so named, because it was situated on a river named Bes. (see f. n. no. 112).

(iii) Sāñchī :—This name is mentioned in Jaina books, where it is called "Sachcha-purī". Sāñchī might have been derived from "Sachchapuri". I will later on prove that both are the names of one and same city, which was a great centre of pilgrimage for Jains.

Though this name is time and again mentioned in the Jaina books, yet two instances will suffice here[108]. In the more ancient

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(108) The two instances are given below. They are time and again repeated by the Jains.—

(a) There is a Jaina psalm named "Jaga chintāmaṇi", which is to be daily repeated by Jains while saying their morning prayers (called Pratikramaṇa). One of the verses is given below:—

"Jaya u sāmi, jaya u sāmi, Ṛṣahaśattuñji,

Ujjinta pahu Nemijiṇam cha, jaya u Veera Sachcha-urimaṇḍanaṃ".

The word "Sachcha-uri" means "Sachchapurī" Satyapurī. The meaning of the couplet is, "May Ṛśabhadev who resides on mount Śatruñjaya, and Neminātha who resides on mount Ujjayant (Girnār), and Śree Mahāvīr who resides in Satyapurī, be victorious". The date of the composition of this psalm is many years before the beginning of the Christian Era.

(b) The second psalm was composed in the sixteenth century A. D. During rule of the great Mogul emperor Akbar, there lived a great Jaina monk named Samayasundar who composed this psalm. One of the verses is:—

" Purvadiśi Pāvāpurī, ṛdhdhe-bharī re,
Mukti gayā Mahāvīr, tīrath te namu re."

The meaning is:—" I offer my salutations to that sacred city Pāvāpurī, which is in the east and where Mahāvīr obtained absolution". The first line of the above given couplet should be really read as follows:—

"Purva vidiśi Pāvāpurī (Pāpāpurī) ṛdhdhe bharī re."

The scribe must have made a mistake in writing "diśi" instead of "Vidiśi", and Pāvāpurī is also called Pāpāpurī, in Jaina books. This was the place where Mahāvīr's life has ended; meaning thereby, that he has obtained Mukti.

The above-stated two verses give us to understand that Mahāvīr breathed his last at a place called "Sachchīpurī" or "Pāvāpurī". Hence Sachchīpurī and "Pāvāpurī" are names of the same place. Perhaps they might be names of different suburbs of the same city. (Look at the map of Bhilsā).

If we do not replace "diśi" by "Vidiśi", as suggested by me, even then the meaning would have to be taken as:—"In the east of Avanti there is a prosperous city named Pāvāpurī where Mahāvīr obtained absolution."

of the two books, it is mentioned as "Sachchipuri", while in the later it is mentioned as "Vidiśā". It is necessary to look into the meanings of these two words and their mutual connection.

The word "Sachchipuri" belongs to the Māgadhī language, its Sanskrit form can be taken as "Śatyapurī". The original word could not have been "Sāñchī" because it is contrary to the rules of Sanskrit grammer[109]. This city might have also been called "Sañchaya-purī" (i. e. a city around which there is a collection of something, which obviously here means a collection of pillar inscriptions). Some one might have made a compromise between "Sachchipurī" and "Sañchaya-purī", and thus called it "Sāñchīpurī".

I have already stated above, that this was a great centre of pilgrimage for Jains. A glance at f. n. no. 108 will give the reader some idea of its religious importance. Though majority of the Jains of to-day believe that Pāvāpurī, where Mahāvīr obtained Nirvāṇa, was situated in Bengal, I can prove it convincingly that it was in Avanti. I have discussed in details and

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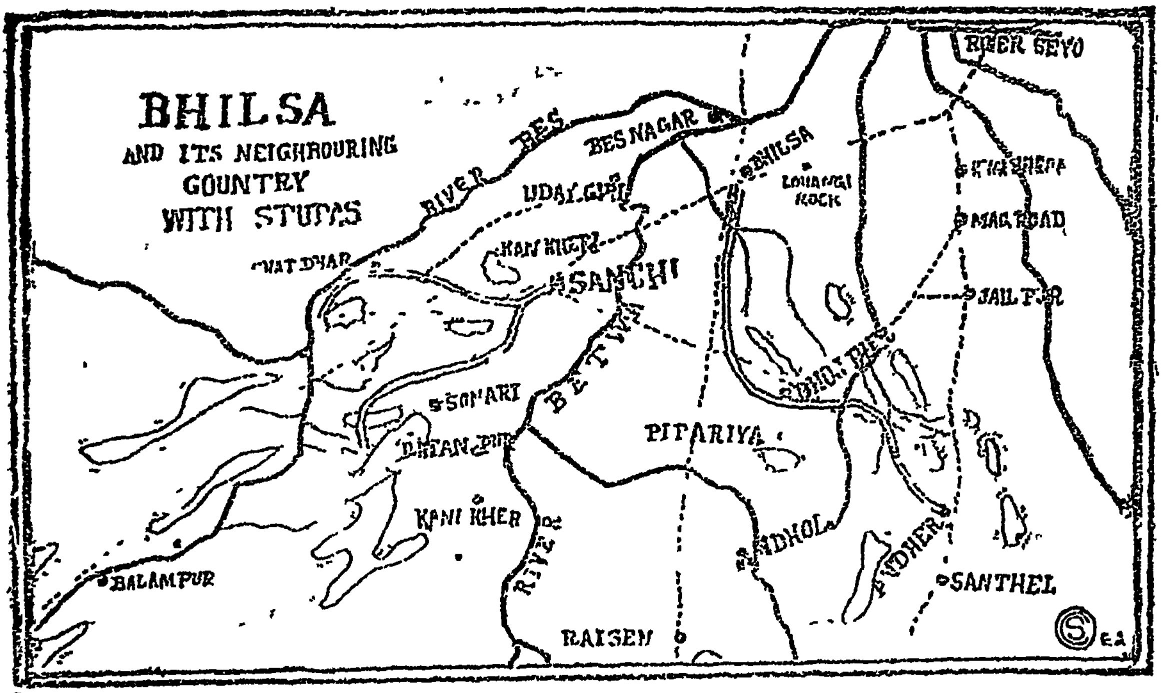
On pp. 58 of A. S. I. (Imp. Ser. Vol. X, 1874–75 and 76–77) Sir Cunningham states that the words " Puruvida disāgiri putāndānam" are inscribed on one of the rock-inscriptions of Sāñchī stūpa. These words might possibly mean "Purvadiśi Pāvāpurī".

[My remarks:—Just as immigrants into America have named their new settlement-cities (e. g. New York etc.) after their old similar names in England (e. g. York etc.), similarly it is possible & believable that the immigrants from this old Satyapurī–Sachchapurī in Mālwā, gave the same name to their new settlement of Satyapurī–Sachchapurī (converted by rule of grammer into Sāchore) in Mewār; because both the cities are connected with the life of Mahāvīr, the old city is the real place where Mahāvīr obtained absolution while the new one is the place where the immigrants sanctified and erected the idol of Mahāvīr for their worship. Similar is the case of Sauripur near Agra, where Neminā th the 22nd Jain Tīrthanker was born, while the new settlement-city in South Kathiawar, where his ancestors resorted in atfer life was named Sauripur–changed into present Chauripur–Chorpur or Chorwād (a maritime place under Junāgaḍh State) (vide f. n. no. 10 on pp. 47)].

(109) It is a rule of Sanskrit grammer that the preceding consonant is changed to the corresponding consonant of that class to which the following

proved the whole thing in my book named "The Life of Mahāvīr" which I intend to publish within a short time.

(iv) Bhilsā[110] :—This name is of later origin than the other three names. A glance at the map will show the reader that it is about a mile far from Besnagar. It is a different question whether Bhilsā flourished on the ruins of Besnagar or vice versa. Sir Cunningham is of the opinion that Bhilsā[111] flourished on the ruins of Besnagar; whatever may be the truth, one thing is certain that Bhilsā and Besnagar are names of different places, though they were not far from each other.



A glance at the map of Vidiśā will show the reader a river named Triveṇī and other two places named Charaṇa Tīrth,

consonant belongs. The following consonant in the present case is of the palatal class (chi). Hence the preceding consonant which is changed to the palatal class here, must have originally been n, or ñ or n or m. Whether there could have been any such awkward name is open to doubt. So "Sāñchī" must not have been derived according to this rule.

(110) Mr. Hall pointed out, Bhā=light, Li=to throw; Bhilsā=thrower of light; (Arch. Sur. Ind. 1874–75 Vol. X p. 34).

(111) See f. n. no. 83 above.

and Durjanpurva. Dr. Hall believes that the word Bhilsā means "the thrower of light". All these matters are fully dealt with in my forthcoming publication. "The Life of Mahāvīr".

Maps given here will show that this city was situated in a hilly region, and thus was an ideal place for hermits and recluses to study, think and meditate upon God and His creations. The wealthy persons in the city readily offered them food and other necessities of life.

It has been stated in historical books that Aśoka had married with the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Vidiśā. This means that Vidiśā was not his capital. Otherwise it would have been stated that he had married the daughter of the merchant of his own city. Aśoka resided in Ujjain which is the acknowledged capital of Avanti[112].

I hope, by reading the details given above, the reader must have been convinced of the fact that Avanti was not divided into two parts and that the word "Purvāparākarāvantī" means "that eastern portion of Avanti which contains a collection of stupas" and not "Eastern and Western Avanti".

Avanti has been hitherto neglected by historians who have given importance to Magadh. I have endeavoured to show that Avanti was as important a country as Magadh, if not more. More light upon its history, is more than likely to change the historical outlook of ancient India.

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(112) This suggests that the capital of Avanti was Ujjain; it continued to be the capital of Avanti from 527 B. C. when king Chandpradyot ruled; to 57 B. C. when Śakāri Vikramāditya ruled over it. During the reign of king Chand, however, fire frequently broke out in it. So he might have decided to change the seat of his capital to a safe place. As the majority of his subjects were Jains, he might have selected Besnagar, it being a place of pilgrimage for the Jains, and also being surrounded by two rivers and fully protected by a fortress. Again it was very near Ujjain, thus facilitating political and business communications.

Bhilsā, on the other hand, must have begun to be inhabited after the end of the reign of Vikramāditya. It remains to be decided just exactly when it began to be inhabited.

(103) Parmar dynasty

1 Vıkramādıtya
Śılāditya
Yaśodharman
A. D. 534–575

2 Vṛddha Bhoj-dev
(In whose tıme flourished Māntuṅg-sūrı, Hu-en-Chāng, Bāṇa, and Mayur).
A. D. 575–640

3 — 0

4 — 0

5 Devśaktı, 700 to 780 (contemporary).

6 Vatsa-rāj, 780–810

7 Nāg-bhat, 810–840

8 Rām-bhat (Rāmdev) 840-872

9 Bhoj II, Ādıvarāh: Prabhās (contemprory of Sidhdharṣı) author of Upmıtı Bhava Prapañchā, 872–915 (Same as Vaırsımh I ?).

10 Kṛṣṇa-rāj, Upendra, 915–935

11 Vairsimh II 935–955

12 Śıyaksimh : Sımhbhat, Harṣadev : 955–970

Sindhurāj (13) Muñj; Lord of the earth. 970-996

14 Bhojdev III : Vairsımh III Śilāditya: Pratāpśıl, contemporary of Vādıvetāl Śāntı-sūri 996-1055 and also…

(104) Parihar dynasty (of Kanoj)

Emperor Harṣavardhan (A.D.630)

Grhavarman (brother-ın-law)

Bhog-varman (A. D. 705)

Yaśovarman (contemporary of Bhav-bhūtı and Vākpatırāj). 744 A. D. (possibly 715 A. D.) to 755 Vıkramāditya, the contemporary of Sıddhasen-dıvākar.

Amarājā : Indrāyudhdha (contemporary of Bappabhatta-sūrı), Nāgāvalok-Nāg-bhat II 755 to 834 (79)

Danduk–834 to 840 (6)

Bhojdev I; 840–885 (historians have confused hım with Bhojdev of Parmār Dynasty)

Mahendrapal; Mahispāl 885-890

Bhojdev II 910–913

Mahipāl, Kśıtıpāl 913–945

Devpāl 945–50

Vijaypāl I 950–975

Vıjaypāl II 975–1000

Jayapāl 1000–1020

……………contemporary of Mahomed of Gizni.

Solanki dynasty of Gujarat

Mūlrāj 942–997

Chāmund 997–1010

Vallabh–sen 1010–1017

Durlabh–sen 1017–1022

Bhımdev I 1027–1072 (50)

Contemporary of Bhojdev III of the Parmār Dynasty.



Chapter VII

Account of the sixteen kingdoms (continued)

Synopsis:—*(14) Avanti (continued)—New light on the history of Sāñchīpurī—The connection of Chandragupta and Priyadarśin with the innumerable stūpas situated in the region about Sāñchī—The establishment, as well as the duration of rule, and the chronology of the kings of the Pradyota dynasty-comments on them—Chronologically arranged names of the kings of Avanti for five hundred years-clarification of the many mistakes committed therein by many scholars—Accounts of the lives of the five kings of the Pradyota dynasty—The union of Avanti with Magadh.*

(15) Sindh-Sauvir:—Whether these were names referring to different regions or not and opinions of scholars about their areas—An account of the life and dynasty of Emperor Udāyin of this country—His friendship with the Persian Empire—His chief position among all Indian emperors—Detailed descriptions of the main events of his life—How his nephew succeeded him and how his capital was destroyed during his reign—The time of the formation of the great desert of Jesalmir which is situated in the east of Sindh—New light on the ruins of Mohan-jā-Dero which has aroused so much interest in the archeologists of to-day—The change in the flow and direction of the river Indus; disappearance of the rivers Hakrā; Vahind, Mihraj, Sarasvati and others. Discussion on the problems whether the peninsula of Kāthīāwār was formerly an island—Chronology of the events in the life of Emperor Udāyin.

(15) A short description of Saurāṣṭra.

(14) AVANTI (continued)

New light on the history of Sāñchīnagarī

Though historians have written volumes and volumes on the construction, painting, and the sculpture of the stūpās around this city, yet none of them seems to have dwelt on the importance of the city itself[1]. Moreover, no mention has been made in any of these volumes of the religion which is directly and intimately connected with this place and these stūpās. I believe it to be my duty to enlighten the reader upon these two points, though the account will be a detailed one.

(1) In the first place, we have to bear in mind that the kings of the Pradyota dynasty ruled over Avanti, (in which Sāñchīpurī[2] is situated), in the 6th century B. C. All these kings were Jains, and specially among them king Chaṇḍapradyot was a devout follower of Mahāvīr, the prophet of Jainism. When the last king of this dynasty was killed by Nand I or Nandivardhan in A. M. 60 or 467 B. C. this country was annexed to the Magadha empire[3]. I will prove later on that the kings of Nanda dynasty too were Jains. The kings of the Maurya dynasty succeeded the kings of the Nanda dynasty, on the throne of Magadh. The founder of this dynasty, Chandragupta, was even a more devout follower of Jainism, than his predecessors; he had become a Jaina monk in his old age. One of his successor Priyadarśin or Samprati[4] was a still

(1) It has been mentioned in one Jaina psalm only. Vide f. n. no. 108 of the preceding chapter.

(2) As I shall have to explain later on, the name Sāñchīpurī seems to have been derived from Sachapurī, which must have been the real name of the city. "Sachapurī" becomes "Sachchapurī" in the Māgadhi language, later on Sachachapurī was changed into Sāñchī-or-Sañchayapurī.

(3) Vide further pages of this chapter.

(4) As this is not the proper place for a detailed discussion, I have left untouched the subject of the religion of Chandragupta's successors to the throne, namely, Bindusāi and Aśoka. (Vide their accounts for this). I have chosen to refrain from the discussion of the relation between Aśoka and Priyadarśin, about which a wrong belief has continued to exist among all present historians of those times. (Vide their account for this).

greater follower of Jainism. In short, for four centuries, (from 600 B. C. to 204 B. C.[5] when the Mauryan dynasty ended, Jaina kings ruled over this country-kings who were devout followers of Jainism.

(2) Chandragupta used to stay for a certain part of every year in Avanti where he had got a palace built for himself[6]. On the authority of Sir Cunningham's "Bhilsā Topes"[7], we can say that Chandragupta had made an yearly grant of twenty-five thousand gold paṇas (coins) for the illuminations of the cups (windows) of the dome of the greatest stupa, which is surrounded by many other great and small stupās. This fact proves that this very stupa is undoubtedly connected with Chandragupta, and the religion he followed (Jainism).

(3) The Sāñchī stupa has four lion-shaped gates[8] facing the four directions. The Bhārhuta Stūpa, which is of a similar structure[9], also has four gates of the same design. The big Siṃha Stūpa[10] of Mathurā is also similarly constructed, and has gates of the same design. Indeed these gates resemble one another so much, that any

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(5) Vide the chronological dynasty of the Mauryās.

(6) It has been stated in the Jaina books (specially this incident is clearly stated in the book of Digamber sect of Jains) that the great Jaina monk Bhadrabāhu had once upon a time come to Ujjain. Chandragupta's residence was in Ujjain at this time, and he had requested the monk to enlighten him upon the real significance of the sixteen dreams that he had dreamed. (Bhilsā Topes pp. 154). This proves that Ujjain must have contained palaces fit for the residence of the emperor.

(7) The Bhilsā Topes by Sir Cunningham, pp. 154.

(8) I am referring here to the lion-shaped gates only, but (Vide the account of Khārvel for a description of the Amrāoti Stūpa) an archeological expert has gone to the length of declaring that Sāñchī, Amrāoti, Mānikyāl, Bharhut, and some others are all of the same type.

(9) "The Bhārhuta Stūpa" by Sir A. Cunningham.

(10) E. I. Vol. VIII. Read the article-entitled, "The Lion Stupa of Mathurā". Vide f. n. no. 11 below also. Vide pp. 162-164 of "The Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum"; Vide f. n. no. 12 below.

two must have been copied from the remaining third.[11] Now the Siṃha Stūpa of Mathurā has been unanimously accepted by scholars to be connected with Jainism[12] while the other two are assigned to Buddhism. This is a great blunder. Really speaking all the three Stūpās are connected with Jainism[13].

(4) Kumārpāl is one of the most famous of the Solañki kings of Gujarāt. His religious preceptor was that famous and learned Jaina monk Hemachandrasūri. He was a great philosopher and historian also. Scholars of all climes and ages have praised his works. We may well base our statements on his authority. He has written a historical work entitled "Pariśiṣṭaparva", in which, while giving an account of the life of Mahāvīr, he has connected Mahāvīr's name with Avanti[14] and not with any other country of India. Does this suggest anything in particular? It surely does. Many events of Mahāvīr's life were connected with Avanti.

(5) *There are several scriptural books*[15] *of Jainism, composed*

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(11) V. A. Smith; E. H. I. 3rd. ed. See the front-piece of this volume. c. f. the pictures referred to in f. n. nos. 7, 9, and 10.

(12) More details about this will be given in the account of Kṣatrap Rājuvul. Vide also "Muttrā and its Antiquities".

(13) Not only do the Stūpās mentioned above, are connected with Jainism, but many others which are similar in construction and design, must be connected with Jainism. More details about this, will be given in the account of Amroāti Stūpa, which is included in the account of emperor Khārvel, third king of the Chedi dynasty.

(14) Vide the account of Avanti a little further in this chapter, and foot notes concerning it.

(15) There lived a poet named Samaya-sunder during the reign of the Mogul emperor Akbar. In one of his poems which gives us a list of the centres for Jaina pilgrimages he writes

"Purva Vidiśi Pāvāpurī, ṛddhe bharī re;
Mukti gayā Mahāvīr, tīrath te namum re".

(Meaning.—"I bow to the prosperous Pāvāpurī, in which Mahāvīr obtained absolution"). In the above couplet "Vidiśā"— is my own-substitution of "diśā", which is commonly found in the books and which, as I have already explained, seems to have been a scribe's slip of pen. In support of this carrection read the couplet quoted from a very ancient psalm, in f. n. no. 108 of the preceding chapter, and the point sixth below.

in very old days, when there was no occasion for twisting facts or misrepresenting them, because there were no religious sects in those days. On the authority of these books[16] we can assert that this Vidiśā or Sāñchī was a centre of pilgrimage for the Jains.

(6) Before emperor Aśoka had ascended the throne of Magadh, he was appointed as the governor of Avanti. During his governorship he had married the daughter of a wealthy Jaina merchant[17] of Besnagar—Vidiśānagarī. This is a proved historical fact, which, again proves that many rich Jaina merchants[18] dwelt in that city at that time.

(7) Hitherto, Aśoka and Priyadarśin have been believed to be the names of one and the same individual. I, on the contrary am of the opinion that they are two different individuals. Priyadarśin was the grandson of Aśoka, and succeeded him on the throne[19]. He has been called Samprati[20] in the Jaina books. He had dedicated his life to the cause of the spread of Jainism throughout the world. A great number of rock-inscriptions and pillar—inscriptions, which have stood the test of time, and which have been erected by Priyadarśin,[21] affords an eloquent testimony to the above statement. Again they quite agree with his account in the Jaina books. This great emperor had spent the last years of his life in Avanti and had changed his seat of capital from Pātliputra to Vidiśānagarī. (For details, vide the account of Priyadarśin). There might have been some political causes behind this change, but the main cause was Jainism. In short, Avanti was the centre of Jainism during his reign.

(16) Cf. f. n. no. 15 above.

(17) Vide the account of Aśoka for this.

(18) Vide the paragraph entitled "More light on Ujjain" in the preceding chapter.

(19) This matter is fully discussed in the account of Aśoka.

(20) Eng. translation by Prof. Herman Jacobi etc. etc.

(21) Many archeological experts have assigned their authorship to Aśoka, and thus connected them with Buddhism which he followed. Really speaking they have been erected by emperor Priyadarśin, who was a devout Jain. I have tried to disillusion these experts in my account of Aśoka.

(8) This region can boast of not one or two but of more than two dozen stūpās, large and small. The smallest of them is large enough to attract the eye of any modern visitor to the place[22]. These Stūpās are to-day in a ruinous and shattered condition; but they must have been in a good condition when the famous Chinese traveller Hu-en-Chāng visited this country thirteen hundred years ago[23]. It is not possible that they might have escaped his notice altogether. Here we must bear in mind that Hu-en-Chāng was a follower of Buddhism, and had come to India specially to visit and make a note of Bauddha religious places. The descriptions of his travels in India have been translated into English and published in two volumes. They contain detailed descriptions of very small Bauddha stūpās which were in Avanti[24] at that time. But we notice it with great astonishment that he has not even mentioned these great stūpās, which were many times larger than those he has described, and which are greatly superior to them in art and sculpture. Does this omission not suggest the fact that these stūpās had no connection with Buddhism and hence were passed over without notice by him?. And if these stūpās are thus not connected with Buddhism, with which religion can they possibly be connected?. Undoubtedly with Jainism. Hence Hu-en-Chāng has not omitted them through oversight, but because they were not connected with his religion.

(9) Scholars have experienced many wearisome difficulties in trying to find out the meanings of the inscriptions on these

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(22) "Bhilsā Topes". The following details are given in it.—

	Diameter.	Height.	Circumference.
Smallest Size	30 ft.	20 ft.	
Biggest Size	70 ft.	80 ft.	

(23) This traveller was in India from 630 A. D. to 640 A. D.

Another traveller, Fa-he-yān had come two centuries before this, and a third, It-Sing twenty-five to fifty years after this.

(24) Vide "Rec. of the West World" Vol. I and II for the descriptions of the regions surrounding Bhilsā, Sāñchī, and Bhārhut, about which not a word is mentioned there in. (These regions are referred to as Mālvā, Avanti, Vatsa, Chikiṭo, Maheśvar, Aṅga, Kuśa-sthal etc. Vide Chapter III).

stūpās. Many a time, most fanciful and ludicrous interpretations have been made of these inscriptions. The main cause of all these, is their rooted-belief that these stūpās are connected with Buddhism. Many of the riddles would be easily solved if they connect them with Jainism, with which they are, in fact, connected. Similarly the inscriptions of Priyadarśin have also been much misinterpretted because he is said to be none else but Aśoka, and because of the groundless belief that he was a follower of Buddhism But discussion about him is out of place here[25]. The only thing I want to assert is that all these stūpās are connected with Jainism and not with Buddhism.

The founder of this dynasty was Punik[26]. In some of the Purāṇās his descendants are called "Paunikās" also, from his name.

There is a diversity of opinion about the duration of this dynasty. A few historians are inclined to believe its duration to have been 154 years[27]; but most of them are inclined to agree to 118 years as its period of duration, which opinion, as we shall see presently, is more akin to truth.

The establishment of the Pradyota dynasty, its duration and chronology

The second king of this dynasty, Chaṇḍ by name, is said to have rūled for 47 years[28]; he died in 527 B. C.[29]. We can calculate from this that he must have ascended the throne in 527+47=574 B. C. He was succeeded by his son Pālak. He and his descendants are said to have ruled for 60 years, after which the dynasty ended in 557-60=467

(25) This matter will be fully discussed in the account of Priyadarśin in this volume. Readers, who are more interested, are requested to read the "Account of Priyadarśin," which will be published by me within a short time.

(26) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 106, and f. n. no. 193 below it:—
Sunik (Pulik) swāminaṃ hatwā putraṃ samabhiṣekśyatī. = Puḷik (Matsya) or Munik (Vāyu) killed his lord and set up the son on the throne of Avanti.

(27) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 108. "According to the Matsya it is 155, but it includes Nandivardhan, while others put it to 128".
Ibid. Vol. I. pp. f. n. no. 83, "The Jaina books do not fix any length for it, but the calculation leads us nearly to the same result".

(28) It is 48 years instead of 47. See further.

(29) Vide f. n. no. 33 below.

B. C. [30]. Thus Chaṇd, Pālak, and their descendants together ruled for 47+60=107 years (from 574 B. C. to 467 B. C.). If we agree to 128 years as being the period of the rule of the whole dynasty Punik must have ruled for 128–107=21 years. We can quote a very good authority in support of this hypothesis; though therein Punik is said to have ruled for 26 years, a small difference looking to the scarcity of clear testimony. In Purāṇās, however, the dynasty is said to have lasted for 155 years, thus affording Punik 155–107=48 years of long rule[32], which is not probable, as his son has definitely ruled for 47 years.

We shall now try to find out how many kings succeeded Pālak. Professor Jacobi has translated a Jaina historical work named "Pariśista Parva". (Published in Leipzic in 1879 A. D.)[33]. In this work of undoubted authority it has been stated that:—

"(1) Pālak, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night, in which the Arhat and Tīrthaṅkar Mahāvīr entered Nirvāṇa (2) Sixty are (the years) of his (Pālak and his descendants) but one, hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas, one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pusamitta, (3) Sixty (years) ruled Balmitta and Bhanumitta, forty

(30) Pariśiṣta Parva, VI, 243. Ind. His. Quarterly Vol. V. Sept. 1929, p. 399. "Anantraṃ Vardhamān swāmi nirvāṇāvasarāt gatāyāṃ ṣasthivatsaryāmeśa nando bhavanīpah I" "Nand became a king sixty years after Mahāvīr entered Nirvāna".

The above-stated statement can be supported by the evidence derived from coins of those times. In Coins of Ant. Ind. p. 96, bears the figure of a king exactly similar to Nandivardhan in appearance. Vide the chapter on coins in the third part of this volume.

(31) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106.

(32) Chanda, and not Punik, ruled for 48 years.

(33) Jaṃ rayanim kālagayo Arihā, Tīrthaṅkar Mahāvīr I
tam rayaṇi Avantīvai ahisato Pālago rāyā II1II

Saṭhiṭhi Pālagarṇo paṇavannasayantu hoi, (Nāgāṇam ?) Nandāṇa I
Aṭhiṭhasayaṃ Muriyāṇam, tisam va Pusamittasa II2II

Balamitta Bhānumitta saṭhṭhi vari sāṇi chatta I
Nabhavahane taha Gaddabhila rajjaṃ terasa varisā Sagass achau II3II

Nabhovāhan. Thirteen years like-wise lasted the rule of Gardabhila and four are the years of Śaka (on Avanti)".

All the above-quoted three verses are rich in historical material. Though we are here concerned with the duration of the Pradyota dynasty, reference about which is contained in verse No. I and the beginning of verse No. II, yet I have decided to discuss below the meaning of all the three verses, as this interpretation will throw much light on other historical problems. I hope the readers will excuse me for this digression.

In J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 78 f. n. 4a; it is stated that, "Pradyot was the most powerful king in the north of India, having a son at Matturā and a son-in-law at Kauśāmbī. He made preparations to take Magadh (Bud. Ind. pp. 13). His death occurred in or about the seventh year of Ajātśatru's reign"[34]. We have just proved above that king Chaṇḍ died in 527 B. C.; and Ajātśatru had ascended the throne in 528 B. C. Consequently Chaṇd must have died in the second, and not the seventh year of Ajātśatru's reign. The writers of Purāṇās have been found to have the habit of confusing the events that might have occurred during the reign of a king with the events that might have occurred during the reign of his predecessor or successor. This habit leads us to believe that Pālak and not Chaṇḍ, must have died during the eighth year of Ajātśatru's reign[35]. Again, as we shall see later on, the events that are described to have taken

(34) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 78 f. n. no. 4a. (quoted above), Vide f, n. no. 35 below. The writer has not forwarded any evidence as to why he has stated seven years. According to my opinion the period is of nine years. Vide a page or two further in this volume.

(35) Instances of such confusion are not difficult to find. In the life of Chaṇḍ himself several things have been wrongly connected with him. For instance :— (a) Vaidehi was really the queen of Chaṇḍ; But Purāṇās have made her the mother of Chaṇḍ and the queen of his father Punik. (b) Pālak died during the eighth year of Ajātśatru's reign. Purāṇās confusingly say that Chaṇḍ died at that time. (f. n. no. 34 above). (c) As stated in f. n. no. 34 above, the Purāṇās say that Pradyot's son was the governor of Matturā; Thus Purāṇās and their writers have confused many things.

place during these seven years can quite reasonably be connected with Pālak's life. This means that Pālak ruled for seven years only.

Some more information about the chronology of the dynasty

It is very difficult to decide how many kings succeeded Pālak and for how many years every one of them ruled. I have given below the chronology which I have borrowed from the Purāṇās. I have also quoted references from other books. The reader is requested to build his own conclusions about facts[36].

Punik
| (Vaidehi queen)
Chaṇdpradyot
|
Pālak — Gopālak — Avantiputra — Kumārsen

Gopālak
|
— Āryak
Viśākhayookh

Avantiputra
|
— Sursenpati
Bṛhadrath
(who was defeated by Vidurath).

Now in H. H. pp. 494–95 it is stated that, "Ripuñjay the last king of the Brhadratha dynasty was profligate, worthless and despotic during his long reign of fifty years. At length Sunak, prime minister, killed his master and secured the throne for his son Pradyot, who began to rule about B. C. 779. The Pradyota dynasty, a short one of five kings, ruled for 124 solar years."

"The Userper ought to have been a good king, but he proved to be reverse. He was a hypocrite. The nobles of the states showed no regard for him. The Matsya Purāṇ does not even mention his name. (1) He ruled for 15 years. (2) His successor Pālak ruled for 23 years. (3) Viśakhayookh for 35 years. (4) Janak 30 years and (5) Nandivardhan 20 years. The last three were despots[37]."

(36) Vide the accounts of the kingdoms concerned.

(37) Vide H. H. pp. 494–495. The authors of both the books, namely, H. H, and J. O. B. R. S. (Vol. I vide f. n. no. 27 above) have based their accounts on Purānās. If we compare them we shall find that both have committed mistakes.

From this statement we can draw the following nine conclusions:—(1) Ripuñjay was the last king of the Brhadratha dynasty. (2) He ruled for 50 years. (3) His prime-minister Sunak killed him. (4) He set his own son Pradyot on the throne. (5) This event took place in 779 B. C. (6) This Pradyota dynasty had five kings. (7) They ruled for 124 years. (8) Pradyot ruled for 15 years. (9) Four kings succeeded him and ruled for 23 (Pālak), 35 (Viśakhayookh), 30 (Janak), and 20 (Nandivardhan) years respectively.

Now we shall proceed to examine the validity of every one of these conclusions one by one : (1) It is not true that Ripuñjay was the last king of the Brhadratha dynasty. In our account of Kāśī we have proved that the last king of Brhadratha dynasty was Aśvasen, and that the kings of Bṛhadratha dynasty ruled on Kāśī and not on Avanti. At the time of Aśvasen, kings of Vitihotra dynasty ruled on Avanti. This leads us to believe that Ripuñjay must have been the last king of Vitihotra dynasty. (2-3-4) Ripuñjay ruled for fifty years. He was killed by his prime-minister Sunak. In f. n. no. 26 of this chapter the name given is Punik, which seems to me to be more correct. (5) We are not concerned with this point here. (6) This dynasty had five kings. I agree with it. (7) They are said to have ruled for 124 solar years. Every solar year consists of 365 days. (8-9) As to number of years for which each king ruled the reader is requested to consult their accounts given further in this chapter. I disagree with the statement that Nandivardhan was the last king of this dynasty and that he ruled for 20 years. It is true that Nandivardhan had become the king of Avanti, but he belonged to the Nanda dynasty and ruled on Magadh also. He became the king of Avanti, only when the last king of the Pradyota dynasty, whom he had defeated, died without an heir. This means that this last king of Pradyota dynasty ruled for 20 years. Again, Nandivardhan has ruled on Magadh for 16 years. So any time during these sixteen years he might have invaded Avanti and defeated the last Pradyota king. This leads us to the conclusion that he could not have ruled on Avanti for 20 years in any case.

Now we shall proceed to examine the meanings of verses Nos. 2, 3 of the Pariśiṣṭa Parva quoted above.

Kings of Avanti for five hundred years after the death of Mahāvīr

Names of the kings of several dynasties are included in the three verses from Pariśiṣṭa Parva, quoted above. Many historians have stated that these kings ruled over Magadh and not over Avanti[38]. They must have committed this mistake because the names of the kings of Maurya and Nanda dynasties are given in the verses. These Maurya and Nanda kings are famous in history books as kings of Magadh, Avanti being a province under this rule. In the verses there are names of the kings of several other dynasties which never ruled over Magadh—e. g. kings of Pradyota dynasty, Śaka kings, Śuṅga kings and others like Balmitra, Bhānumitra, Nabhovāhan etc. Several historical controversies would be over, if we accept that, all the kings whose names are given in those verses ruled over Avanti[39]. For instance, the false belief that Śuṅga kings ruled over Magadh will be automatically removed. Again Nabhovāhan which is the Sanskrit-Hindi name for Nahapān kśatrapa can, without difficulty, be accepted as a king of Avanti. Coins bearing his name support this conclusion. The last king in the list is Śakāri Vikramāditya, son of Gardhabhil. All the quarrels about who was Vikramāditya and over which country he ruled would be over, as the Vikrama era begins with him; and all can be certain about the person and the where-about of a king, round whom an intricate fabric of stories and legends is woven.

We might pause here to think why the author of Pariśista Parva has chosen to connect the names of all these kings of Avanti –and not of any other country–with the day on which Mahāvīr died. It is not unreasonable to think that he has given a list of

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(38) See f. n. no. 39 below.

(39) Ind. His. Quarterly Vol 8 pp. 402·—Dr. Konow agrees that the gāthās are not meant as a chronology of the Magadha kings, as has been usually assumed, but are in reality meant as an enumeration of the rulers of Central India, between the Nirwāna and Vikramāditya. J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 102:—The Jaina chronology may be called the Ujjain chronology.

kings, all of whom were Jains. The author of Pariśiṣṭa Parva was a great Jaina monk, and he would not have connected names of kings belonging to any other religion with the date of the death of Mahāvīr.

Let us now turn our attention to the meanings of these verses. The meaning of the first verse is clear, and we need not worry over it here. We have also proved that not Pālak alone, but Pālak and his descendants together, had ruled for sixty years. Now we turn to the rest of the verse

> Paṇavanna sayantu hoi (Nāgāṇāṃ) * Nandāṇa ।
> aṭhṭhasayaṃ Muriyāṇaṃ ॥

The meaning which is generally accepted is as follows:—

"The Nanda kings ruled for 155 years and Maurya kings ruled for 108 years". Now it is a known fact that the kings of Nanda dynasty ruled for only hundred years[40]. Why should such a great writer state that they ruled for 155 years?[41]. It is obvious that some mistake has been committed in the actual wordings of this part of the verse. I submit to the scrutiny of linguists the following five suggestions for making changes.

Suggestion No. I:—The meaning of the verse can more suitably be as follows, "The Nanda kings ruled upto the 155th year (and not for 155 years)" after the death of Mahāvīr. This means that the Nanda dynasty lasted upto 527 B. C.—155=372 B. C. Out of these 155 years we may deduct 60 years of Pālak and his descendants, and thus the Nanda kings ruled over Avanti for remaining 95 years.

Suggestion No. II:—We might connect the word "Aṭhṭhasayaṃ" with "Naṇdāṇam" and not with "Muriyāṇaṃ". Thus the line would be "Paṇavanna sayantu hoi Naṇdāṇām (Nāgāṇam) Aṭhthasayam" The meaning then would be, "The family of Nand which ruled upto 155th year, had begun to rule after a length

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* The word in the bracket is inserted by me.

(40) Vide the account of Nanda dynasty in part II for their chronology and durations of reigns.

(41) Vide the last para of the account of Chaṇḍ given further on in this volume.

of 108 of the Nāgās (Śiśunāga dynasty is shortly called Nāgās)". The Nanda dynasty is also a branch of Śiśunāga dynasty; so Nandās can also be called Nāgās. (These 108 years are calculated as follows:—52 years of Śreṇik's rule+32 years of Kuṇik+16 years of Udāyan+8 years of Anurudhdha-Mund=108 years)[42].

Suggestion No. III:—If we put the word Nāgāṇaṃ for Nandāṇam, things would be clearer still. The meaning then would be "The kings of the Nāga dynasty which includes both the Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties ruled upto the 155th year of the Mahāvīr era."

Suggestion No. IV:—If we separate the word Aṭhthasayaṃ from "Muriyāṇaṃ" and connect it as an adjective with "Pālagorāyā" of the preceding verse, the meaning would be "Pālak's dynasty i. e. Pradyota dynasty had ruled over Avanti for 108 years; after that Nanda kings had ruled upto the 155th year". The author of Pariśiṣṭa Parva was a Jain and his aim was to write a history of Jainism. Hence he does not take into account the reign of Chaṇd's father who was a follower of the vedic religion. Even Chaṇd himself was not a Jain[43] at the beginning of his reign, but he soon entered its fold. He ruled for 48 years[44] and his descendants including Pālak ruled for the next sixty years, thus making the total of 108 years.

Suggestion No. V:—If we do not separate the word "Aththa-sayam" from "Muriyāṇaṃ" we will have to allow the possibility of a mistake by some scribe at a later date. Thus the original word written by the author must have been "Aththa-saṭhthasayam" out of which some scribe must have dropped "saththa" altogether by slip of a pen or due to some reason not clear to us. The word

(42) Nāgānam = kings of Nanda dynasty, which was a branch of the Nāga dynasty.

(43) At that time only two systems of religion existed: Jainism and the Vedic religion. Thus any one who was not a jain, must have been a follower of the Vedic religion. We have noted in the previous pages of this book that he was not a jain.

(44) Vide the account of Śivā, the second daughter of king Cheṭak, in chap. V. Vide also further pages of this chapter.

"Aṭhṭha-saṭhṭhasayaṃ" means 168. Then the meaning should be, "The Mauryās whose rule lasted for 168 years, began to rule over Avanti after the 155th year". That the Maurya dynasty lasted for 168 years, is a proved historical fact.

The last words of the second verse mean, "After the Mauryās, Puṣyamitra ruled for 30 years". In the third verse it is given that Balamitra, Bhānumitra and others ruled for 60 years. We shall later on prove, that these kings belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty. Adding these 60 years to the 30 years of Pusyamitra's reign, we shall have, that Śuṅga kings ruled for 90 years. (In Purāṇās it is stated that Śunga kings ruled for 112 years. I will explain this in the account of the Śuṅga dynasty). After the Śuṅga kings Nabhovāhan ruled for 40 years over Avanti[45]. After that, the Gardabhila king ruled over Avanti for 13 years, after which the Śakās ruled over it for 4 years. After that Vikramāditya Śakāri became the ruler of Avanti.

Thus after the death of Mahāvīr the following kings ruled over Avanti for the years stated opposite their names:—

1.	Pālak and his descendants	60 years.
2.	Nanda kings	95 years (i.e. upto 155th year).
3.	Maurya kings	168 years.
4.	Puṣyamitra	30 years.
5.	Balmitra, Bhānumitra and others	60 years.
6.	Nabhovāhan	40 years.
7.	Gardabhila king	13 years.
8.	The Śakās[46]	4 years.
		470 years.

Thus the Vikrama era began, after 470 years of the Mahāvīr era.

(45) Nabhovāhan is the Hindi name for the original "Nahapāṇ". Kshatrap Nahapāṇ is famous in history, He has ruled over Avanti for 40 years. (Vide his account given further in Vol. III).

(46) According to Jainism 13 years are assigned to king Gardabhila and 4 to Śaka, thus making a total of 17 years. According to Purāṇās 10 years are assigned to the former and 7 to the latter. Which of these two is true is a problem to be still solved by students of history. But both agree to the total of 17 years.

By this time, it must have been clear to the reader that the author of Parisista Parva has stated facts only and no falsehoods. But, as it generally happens in such gāthās (verses), much meaning is crowded in a few words and hence have arisen misunderstandings and confusions. The results were that (1) historical truth was destroyed, and (2) the author of Pariśiṣṭa Parva was believed to be dishonest.

Accounts of the lives of the Pradyota kings

(I) Punik : We have noted in chapter IV that when Śiśunāg ascended the throne of Kāśī, kings of Vitihotra dynasty were ruling over Avanti, and that the last king of this dynasty was succeeded by Punik of the Pradyota dynasty. Punik was succeeded by Chaṇd in 574 B. C. As Punik's reign lasted for 21 years, he must have ascended on the throne in 595 B. C. We do not know how Punik obtained the throne of Avanti, and also whether there was any kinship between the two dynasties. But we know that Vitihotrās were ruling over Avanti when Śiśunāg established his dynasty on the throne of Kāśī in 805 B.C.[47]. Thus the Vitihotra dynasty lasted at least from 804 to 596 B. C.= 208 years.

We do not know much about Punik. He was a pretentious king, and might possibly have been despotic. He was not much respected by his officers. Though he was a follower of the vedic religion, even Matsya Purāṇa does not contain any reference about him. From the view point of history his reign is of little importance.

(II) Chaṇdpradyot : When he ascended the throne, he was in his prime of youth. Hence it is possible that his reign might have lasted for 48 years. He was very proud and a valorous warrior. Youth, mastery over a large kingdom, and skill in fighting, had made him a despot[48]. Possessing varied and powerful implements

(47) See the chronology of the Śiśunāga dynasty in the account of Magadh.

(48) I have attributed this adjective to Chaṇd, though some writers have attributed it to Pālak due to mis-understanding. Vide f. n. no. 55 below, for the quotation from J. O. B' R. S.

for war in his army[49] he believed himself to be invincible. Owing to his despotic disposition, jaina writers have given him the name of Chaṇḍ[50], though his original name was Mahāsen[51]. In history books he is famous as Chaṇḍpradyot[52].

Blinded by his pride, he committed several thoughtless deeds[53] which stained his reputation. Had it not been so, he would have acquired unblemished and unique fame[54]. We shall quote here only two of his many thoughtless[55] deeds. One of them was the way in

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(49) Vide pp. 2 of Bhārhut Stūpa by Cunninghim:—"He had four kinds of army; of which there were (1) a Chariot called Opanic drawn by slaves that would go in one day 60 yojanas and return. (2) an elephant called Malgiri (Jaina books call her Analgiri) that would go in one day 100 yojanas and return. (3) A female camel (a mule) called Mudrākeśī that would go in one day 120 yojanas and return and (4) a horse called Telakarṇik that would go the same distance.

If his name were based on etymology, Mahāsenāni (owner of a large army) would be more appropriate than Mahāsen.

(50) Chaṇḍ=fierce; Pra-chaṇḍ=fiercer. Chaṇḍ also means "large". Chaṇḍ had a very large army. As I have already noted before, it is a habit of the jaina writers to give an appropriate name to a king according to his habits and specialities.

(51) Vide pp. 76 of Jaina Sāhitya Lekha Saṃgrah. One of the verses of a jaina psalm is:—

Śāsan nāyak Vīraji, prabhu keval pāyo ।
Saṅgh chaturvidha sthāpavā Mahasen van āyo ।

Meaning:—"When Mahāvīr obtained Kaivalya Gnān, he came to the forest of Mahasen to establish a four-fold society of jains"; or "King Mahasen went to the same forest in which Mahāvīr had gone to establish a four-fold society of jains". I think the first meaning is better.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106:—"Pradyot is called Mahasen both by Bhās and Bāṇ.

(52) Chaṇḍ + Aśoka = Chaṇḍāśoka; Chaṇḍa + Pradyot = Chaṇḍaprodyot. Compare these two words.

(53) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. f. n. no. 144:—"With him rested the decision as to which of the reigning monarchs should be allowed to enjoy the sovereignties". (Do these words not show his pride?).

(54) Cf. this with the word "Narottam" in f. n. no. 55 below.

(55) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106:—" Pālak carried on the traditions of his father. His father (really it ought to be predecessor) is described as

which he behaved in his relations with Udāyin, the king of Sindh Sauvira, which is situated on the western borders of Avanti. The second is his behaviour towards Śatānik, king of Vatsa, which is situated on the northern borders of Avanti. He had to suffer much on both these occasions. As a result of the first episode, he was obliged to wear a gold strip on his forehead, with the words "Mama dāsīpati=the husband of my maid servant", inscribed on it. As a result of the second, he had to be separated for ever from his eight queens. (Though this was a good-turning point for the queens, it made him miserable) We have already narrated the first event in the account of Prabhāvatī, daughter of king Cheṭak, in chapter IV. Now shall narrate the other.

We have already stated in the account of king Śatānik in chap. IV, how Chaṇd was fascinated by the beauty of Mrgāvatī, queen of Śatānik, and how king Śatānik died of accident. Chaṇḍ continued to insult Mrgāvatī, till at last Mahāvīr personally intervened and made the chief queen Śīvā and the other eight, jaina nuns. When Udayan of Vatsa, Mrgāvatī's son, grew up and heard about Chaṇḍ's disrespectful attitude towards his mother, he punished Chaṇd by forcibly carrying away his daughter Vāsavadattā and secretly marrying her. Thus he was punished twice for his one thoughtless deed.

Upto 561 B. C. when he fought against Udāyin of Sindh, he was a follower of the Tāpasa-religion. But his mind began to incline towards Jainism after the time when Udāyin pardoned him his behaviour at the time of Saṃvatsari Pratikramaṇa (Annual service of the jains when each jain forgives all people's faults towards him and asks for fargiveness from all). In a short time he became such a staunch jain[56] that Chetak, king of Vaiśālī, gave him in marriage his daughter Śīvādevī in 560

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unscrupulous by the Vāyu-purān and by the Matsya-purāṇ as immoral in foreign policy, (the two instances quoted above are enough to show this), although he was, in other ways, fit to be called a great man, (Narottam). In Bauddha books he is described as fierce and cruel".

(56) Bharateśwar B. V. Translation pp. 84.

B. C.[57]. The poet Bhās has called her Vaidehi queen, because her father was the king of Videha[58].

A great fire had broken out in Ujjain during his reign. This fire was extinguished by Śīvādevī with the power of her character. He had conquerred many countries by the prowess of his arms, and had made fourteen kings his vassals[59].

After a long reign of 48 years, he had died on the same night on which Mahāvīr obtained Nirvāṇa in 527 B. C. He was succeeded by Pālak, According to jaina books he was the younger of the two brothers of Chaṇḍ, and had ascended the throne because the elder brother Gopāl had become a jaina monk[60].

(III) Pālak : His reign must have lasted for seven or seven-and-half years[61]. (527 to 520 B. C.). He ruled for a short time, not because he was very old when he ascended the throne, (he must not have been over 40), but because he was, like his elder brother Chaṇḍ, proud and given to anger. When his deeds began to be unendurable, his subjects with the help of the Nagarsheth (Mayor)[62], dethroned him and placed his eldest son Dantivardhan on the throne[63].

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(57) Vide the account of Śivā. daughter of Cheṭak, in chapter IV.

(58) "Vide Vāsavadattā by Bhās pp. 68 (Bhās omits this king Pradyot's father's name but mentions his Vaidehi mother)". The above-stated sentence is quoted in J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106 f. n. no. 144. Also Vide f. n. no. 35 above.

(59) Kalpa Sūtra Com. pp. 138.

(80) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 372.

(61) See f. n. no. 34 above.

(62) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 106:—"Pālak was a tyrant. The populace headed by the president of the guild-merchant of the capital, deposed him and having brought Gopāl out of the prison, put him on the throne". (Accordingly Gopāl must be said to have succeeded Pālak). I leave it to the reader's judgment as to which of the two versions he might accept as true, mine or Purāṇās.

(63) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 342—"Once Pālak renounced this world and became a jaina monk, after making Dantivardhan the next king, and proclaiming Rāṣṭravardhan the next heir.

(IV) Dantivardhan[64] : When Dantivardhan, the eldest son of Pālak ascended the throne, his younger brother, Rāṣṭravardhan was proclaimed the next heir to the throne. Dantivardhan ruled for about 20 years[65]. He was as cruel as his father. He was, moreover, a very vicious king. Once he happened to see Dhāriṇī, the beautiful wife of Rāṣtravardhan, and was fascinated by her beauty. He did all he could to fulfil his desire, but to no purpose. At last he thought that he would not be able to bring Dhāriṇī under his power, unless he murdered his brother. So he got his brother killed.[66] Dhāriṇī though she had been pregnant for last three months, sought safety in flight, leaving her one son behind. She took shelter under Vāsavadattā, queen of Udayan of Vatsa, who was her husband's sister[67] After some days, finding the world full of misery, she became a jaina nun, though she was to become a mother in a short time. When her preceptress saw signs of pregnancy on her body, she kept her in secrecy. After a short time she gave birth to a son, who was left on the road to the palace of Vatsa royal family. A maid-servant of the palace, passing by the road, heard the baby crying. When she

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(64) In one of the scriptual books of jains, the following words are given. "Ujjaiyini–Vanti Vadhdhaṇam" (I take this opportunity to thank Munisree Kalyānvijayji, a lover of history, for this suggestion.) The question, that we have to decide, is whether this Avantivardhan is identical with Dantivardhan or with his successor Avantisen. At present I have based my belief on Bh. B. V. Trans. pp. 342 given in f. n. no. 63 above.

(65) It is now decided that he ruled for sixteen years. (See the chronology given further).

(66) This incident must have taken place between 505 to 501 B. C.

(67) Punik.

Chand. — Gopāl. — Pālak.

Chand. → Vāsavadattā (married with Vatsa's king Udayan).

Pālak. → Dantivardhan. — Rāṣṭravardhan (queen Dhāriṇī).

(Vāsavadattā and Dhāriṇī were each other's sisters-in-law.)

looked at the baby, she was struck by its handsomeness, and at once brought it before Vāsavadattā, who had no son.[68] The queen was much pleased and began to bring up the child as her own son. When Udayan died in 490 B. C., this boy who was called Maṇi-prabh or Medhavin, was adopted[69] and was made the king of Kauśāmbī

On this side, when Dhāriṇī left Ujjain, Dantivardhan's viciousness became the talk of the town, and he was obliged to give up his throne[70]. So he became a jaina monk in about 504 B. C. He was succeeded by Avantisen[71] the eldest son of Dhāriṇī and Rāṣṭravardhan. Thus Avantisen and Maṇiprabh were brothers.

(V) Avantisen : He ascended the throne in 504 B. C. His administration satisfied his subjects and there was peace everywhere. After a short time, Maṇiprabh ascended the throne of Vatsa, as Udayan had died. On account of some reason, hitherto unknown, both these kings became enemies of each other. One possible reason might be that Avantisen, having a desire to extend his dominion, might have demanded vassalage or tribute from Maṇiprabh, who might have refused to do so. The other, and more probable reason might be that Vāsavadattā was Avantisen's father's sister, and Avantisen must have thought that, she had no business to adopt an unknown child (because he was not aware that Maṇi-prabh was his younger brother). Consequently Avantisen invaded Kauśāmbī with a large army, and a terrible battle would have taken place, but for the intervention of Dhāriṇī, who summoned both the kings before her

(68) Udayan had a daughter. She was married with Nandivardhan, who, later became the emperor of Magadh (for his life vide the account of the Nanda dynasty). Also vide f. n. no. 54. chap. IV.

(69) This proves that the custom of adopting an heir to the throne was prevalent in those times.

(70) See f. n. no. 62 above. It is stated there that Pālak was dethroned. In jaina books it is not Pālak, but Dantivardhan, who is stated to have been dethroned.

(71) Avantisen is the same son. who was left alone by Dhāriṇī when she sought safety in flight.

and made clear the relationship. Both the brothers embraced each other, and peace was established between them.

Avantisen had no son. Hence a desire arose in his mind to renounce the world. So he made Maṇiprabh the king of Avanti, and himself became a jaina monk. Thus Maṇiprabh became the king of both Vatsa and Avanti in 487 B. C.

(VI) Maṇiprabh or Medhavin : While Maṇiprabh was ruling peacefully over both these countries, great things were happening at Magadh. The king of Magadh, Muṇd, was a pleasure-seeker, and hence shut himself up in the harem Kingdoms under the vassalage of Magadh, began to become independent. Muṇd's commander-in-chief, Nāgdaśak, proclaimed himself the emperor of Magadh, in 472 B. C., and assumed the name of Nandivardhan. He established peace everywhere and became a powerful king. He turned his eye towards Avanti in 467 B. C. There seems to have been no reason for his hostility towards Avanti, but, as he had married Udayan's (of Vatsa) daughter seven years after Udayan's death (484 B. C.) he must have thenceforward begun to believe that he had a prior right to the throne of Vatsa. He could not do anything as long as he was a mere commander-in-chief. But when he became the full-fledged emperor of Magadh, he invaded both Vatsa and Avanti. As a result, Maṇiprabh was killed[72] and both the countries were annexed to the Magadha empire in 467 B. C. Thus ended the Pradyota dynasty.

Below is given a list of the kings of Pradyota dynasty arranged in a chronological order. The reader is requested to compare this

(72) It is clearly stated in jaina books that Avanti was annexed to Magadh because one of the descendants of Pālak died without an heir. (Vide part II chap. 6 of this Vol.) According to Purāṇās, however, the annexation was the result of a war between Nandivardhan and Maṇiprabh.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. XIII pp. 240—The kingdom of Avanti was conquerred and annexed to the kingdom of Magadh by Nandivardhan. This is also supported by neumismatic evidence (See chapter on coins of Avanti).

I am inclined towards the theory of the last king dying without an heir. I hope to justify the theory in the account of Nandivardhan.

list with the one given in Purāṇās and which is quoted at the beginning of the account of this dynasty in this chapter.

	B. C.	B. C.	No. of years	Before Mahāvīr Era	B.M.E.
(1) Punik	596	575	21	69	48
(2) Mahāsen or Chaṇḍpradyot	575	527	48	48	0
(3) Pālak	527	520	7	After M.E.	A.M.E.
				1	7
(4) Dantivardhan[73]	520	501	19	7	26
(5) Avantisen	501	487	14	26	40
(6) Maṇiprabh[74]	487	467	20	40	60
			128-9		

(15) SINDHU-SAUVIR

Area:—The modern Sindh was known as Sindhu in ancient time because the river Indus flows through the country[75]. The

(73) Those kings whose names end with "Vardhan" are classed as vaiśyās (and not kshatriyās) by the historians, who believe that for a king to be a kshatriya, his name should end with "Varman". Thus they have decided to put Harṣavardhan of Kanoj in the vaiśya class. This is a mistake. There are many kings who were decidedly kśhatriyās and yet their names ended with "Vardhan". For instance (1) Nandivardhan of the Nanda dynasty (2) Kśemvardhan of the Śiśunāga dynasty (3) Dantivardhan of Avanti and (4) his brother Rāṣtravardhan (5) Aśokavardhan of the Maurya dynasty (6) Dharma-vardhan or Kuṇāl, Aśoka's son and Priyadarśin's father.

Harṣavardhan must also have been a kshatriya, or, at least one cannot put him among the vaiśyās simply because his name ended with "Vardhan".

(74) If we consider Punik as the founder of the dynasty, in all there would be six kings; there would be five if we consider Chaṇḍ as the founder or the first king of the dynasty. (See conclusion no. 6 on pp. 198).

(75) J. I. H. Q. Vol. XII (Prof, Sten Know) pp. 18:—Sindu deṣa was often identified with the country to the west of Indus". If this is true, it means that the country to the west of the Indus was Sauvir. Hence a city situated on the west of the Indus might naturally have been the capital of Sindhu. Vittabhaya-paṭṭaṇ was on the west coast of the Indus. Cf. this with the description of Mohan-jā-ḍero and Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇ given further.

eastern portion was known as Sauvir. As both the countries were under the rule of one king, they were jointly called Sindhu-Sauvir.

Different opinions are held with regard to the boundaries of Sauvir. When Hu-enChāng visited India in the 7th century A. D. Sauvir consisted of the modern states of Jodhpur and Śirohī. But in the 6th century B. C. Sauvir included within its boundaries those districts which were called Sindh, Sāuvir, Gujjar, Attali, and Madhya Deśa by Hu-en-Chāng[76]. Thus Sindhu-Sauvir was the largest kingdom in Western India[77]. Its area was four or five times as much as that of the kingdom of Magadh in the east. According to one historian[78] ten great kings were under the vassalage of the king of Sindhu-Sauvir, and one of them was Chaṇd of Avanti, under whose vassalage were other fourteen kings[79].

Below, I have given some of the different opinions held about the boundary and the capital of Sauvir. First we shall take up the boundary.

(1) One writer is of the opinion[80] that according to Sir Cunningham the modern Idar was included in Sauvir. Idar is known as Vadārı[81] in bauddha literature, and Sophir in Bible.

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(76) See map on pp. 53.

(77) The king of Sindhu was very powerful. The emperor of Persiā had requested him to help him in establishing his own kingdom. They had become friends of each other.

C. H. I. pp. 330:—An embassy was sent to Cyrus by an Indian king : (Ibid pp. 22). Cyrus the Great carried on campaigns with Indian borders through east of Irān : (Ibid pp. 330). It is doubtful whether he attained suzerainty over the Indian frontier itself.

In short, Cyrus's efforts to conquer any part either of Kamboj of Pulusākı in the north, or of Sindhu Sauvir in the south were quite unsuccessful.

(78) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṃgrah, pp. 78. For details see further in this volume.

(79) See f. n. no. 59 above and original matter connected with it; also Kalpasūtra Com. pp. 138.

(80) Dey's A. I. pp. 81 (The word Mahābhārat).

(81) See f. n. no. 92 below.

(2) Sauvir was that region which was situated between the Indus and the Zelum[82].

(3) Sauvir was situated in the N. E. of Cuchchha and its capital was Roruk–Rorav[83].

(4) Sauvir was one of the districts of Sindh[84].

(5) Sauvir consisted of a region somewhere in the east of the Indus. It might possibly have been in the N. E. of Cuchchha and Kāthiāwār[85]. There was a small country named Daśārṇa[86] on the west of Sauvir. Daśārṇa derived its name from the ten small rivers that were flowing through it. (It is possible that it might have included within its boundaries the modern districts of Bhāvalpur, Jesalmir, Sukker and Thar–pārkar).

(6) The region between the Indus and Zelum consisted of two countries named Āyuddha and Sauvir in ancient times[87].

(7) The delta near the mouth of the Indus was a part of the country of Sauvir. Its capital was Pātal, and it was founded by the Greek emperor Alexānder.

Different opinions are also held about the capital of Sauvir.

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(82) Ibid pp. 81.

(83) B. I. pp. 320 for the map.

(84) Dr. Bhagvānlal Inderji (J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927. Vol. III Pt. II) says on the authority of Patañjali as follows:—

"Sauvīrā Dattāmitrī–nagarī" (Dattamitri was a city in Sauvir).

(85) Purātattava Vol. I pp. 2 and further.

(86) This means a tract of land between the Indus and the Hāla mountains.

For another Daśārṇa vide the account of Avanti. Chap. VI. f. n. no. 81 (and quotations from Purātattva Vol. I. pp. 52 on it) also f. n. no. 85 of Chapter V. and the matter connected with it.

Some authors put ten confluent rivers on either side of the parent Indus. Any how, if the word Daśārṇa has its derivative origin from the number 10, it must designate several such regions in different parts of India, where either there are 10 rivers or somethings.

(87) Dey's A. I. pp. 75. See the description of the delta of the Indus.

According to jaina books its capital was Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ[88]. According to bauddha books it was Roruk or Rorav. (Different bauddha books have still different names). It is said there that it was situated somewhere on the common border between the desert of Cuchchha and Rājputānā. They have based this belief on the following account:—When the Scythians or the Śakās invaded Mālvā, they, after passing through Sindh, came to the mouth of the Indus, and desiring to avoid crossing through the desert of Jesalmir, entered Cuchchha through the gulf of Cuchchha; or they might have made their entry in Sauvir by travelling from the delta of the Indus, on the coast of Cuchchha, and then passing by this Roruk[89]. Thus they have imagined this Roruk, a city on the coast of Cuchchha, to have been the capital of Sauvir. Whether this was only a port or whether it was really the capital is open to doubt. Then these Śakās passed through the region named Vadhiār[90] in Gujarāt, and then they went to Mālvā after passing through a passage[91] of the Arvalli hills[92] near Idar.

Personally, I am inclined to believe that both Sindhu and Sauvir were under the power of one king. But they must have been inhabited by people with different civilizations. The capital of Sindh must have been Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ, and the capital of

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(88) Purātattva Vol. I. pp. 282.

(89) It is the region which is situated near the ruins of Zinzuvādā and Moderā on the west of the desert of Cuchchha.

(90) Rādhanpur is the capital of this Vaḍhiār region. The bulls of this place are famous and are said to be of a very high pedigree. Communications between Mālvā and Gujarāt must have been conducted through Idar at that time. At present, however, the city which is on the common border line of these two countries is known as Dohad. See f. n. no. 92 below.

(91) In Mahābhārat this hill is considered to be a part of the Vindhyā mountains, and its name was Pārāpātra.

(92) Cf. this with theory No. I., about the boundaries of Sauvir, where Sir Cunningham has said that Idar was known as Vadāri in bauddha books. Possibly this Vadāri and Vadhiār might have been identical. At present there is a village named Vaḍāli near Idar. See f. n. no. 90 above.

Sauvir, as many experts believe, must have been Roruk[93] situated in Cuchchha. Thus they were two different countries with their own capitals[94]. (The same condition prevailed in the case of Kamboj and Gāndhār, and their capitals. see chap. IV).

Some information about the king of Sauvir, and his dynasty

We know something about the kings—and their dynasties—of Magadh in the east, of Vatsa, Anga, and Avanti in the central India and of Kośal in the north. But little is known about the kings of Kamboj and Sindh–Sauvir. We know something about the king of Sindhu–Sauvir who ruled over it at the time with which we are concerned.

This king's name was Udāyin. We do not know anything about his parents, and his family. His queen was Prabhāvatī, the daughter of king Cheṭak. She was married with him in about 584 B. C., and she had given birth to a son. (Whose account will be given later on). Coming to know that her end was near, she became a jaina nun in 574 B. C., and died within a short time.

Udāyin was born in 600 B. C. It is said about Gautam Buddha that on the day on which he was born (600 B. C.) 6 other persons were born[95], and one of them was Udāyin. He must have come to the throne in about 584 B. C. He was a just king and he spread peace everywhere. He ruled ably and peacefully for a long time, and he was a powerful king. During his time the emperor of Persiā was Cyrus, who, many a time, had invaded Udāyin's kingdom, with a view to conquer some of the bordering territories. But his offorts were unsuccessful, and, at last, friendly relations were established between the two kings. Ambassadors were sent to each other's court[96]. When Udāyin gave up the

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(93) Can Roruk have any connection with the modern Rohri (a town in Sindh)?. (See f. n. no. 122 below).

(94) See further, and f. n. no. 119 below.

(95) C. H. I. pp. 188, (states on the authority of Prof. R. Davis's Buddhist birth stories; note on pp. 68) "For instance there is an early list of the seven co-natals-persons born on the same day as Buddha,

(96) See f. n. no. 77 above.

throne, and his nephew succeeded him, Sindh was annexed to the Persian empire by the Persian emperor Darius[97].

We know that he had defeated and brought under his vassalage powerful kings like Chaṇdpradyot of Avanti, and many others. One writer has properly said[98], "King Udāyin was the master of 16 countries[99] like Sindhu-Sauvir, of 363 cities including Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ, of Ākar[100] (Mine), of Mahāsen[101] of 8 to 10 other kings, and of innumerable police-officers, millionaries and caravans".

Thus Udāyin was the greatest emperor of his time. Before he ascended the throne he was a follower of the Tāpasa-religion; but then, he had become a follower of Jainism[102]. In about 584 or a year or two after that, he had married Prabhāvatī, and had got a large jaina temple built in his capital for worship, and having performed the ceremony of Añjanśalākā, had placed many jaina idols in it. One of the idols was that which they had got mysteriously from gods[103]. Once when both the king and the queen were dancing before this idol after worshipping it, the king, in

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(97) In C. H. I. pp. 337 (while giving the account of Darius of Persiā, it is stated) "that part of the Indian territory towards the rising sun is full of sand". (Rising sun=east of Persiā=west of India. Thus Sindhu deśa was on the west of India). "The eastern part is a desert on account of sand". (See further for how a desert was formed on this part).

(98) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṃgrah pp. 76 and f. n. nos. 87 and 88 and matter connected with it.

(99) Janpad=a large country.

(100) Ākar=a mine, this seems to be the meaning of the author; but looking to the context of the sentence quoted, Ākar seems to be the name of a country, the king of which must have been a vassal to Udāyin. In the inscription on the lake Sudarśan is mentioned a country named "Akarāvanti". Does it refer to this "Ākar"?. Vide chap. VI. f. n. no. 81 and the matter connected with it.

(101) See the list of the Pradyota dynasty in the preceding pages and f. n. nos. 49, 50, 51 and the matter connected with it in this chapter.

(102) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṅgrah pp. 76.

(103) Vide Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 182-83 for details.

whose hand there was a harp, saw the queen dancing without a head on her shoulders. At this sight the king fainted. When he recovered he told the queen what he had seen. The queen foresaw that her death was near, and wanted to become a jaina nun. He agreed to it on condition, that if she became a goddess after her death, she must show herself to him in times of calamity and guide him properly. The queen promised to do so, and how she kept her promise is already described in chapter IV in her account.

After his separation from the queen, he continued to reign for several years, but his interest in the world was over. Once Mahāvīr came to Sindh[104], and he became a jaina monk under him[105], in about 546 B. C. Instead of placing his son Keśav[106] on the vacant throne, he placed his nephew Keśikumār on the throne, because he believed that a person who became a king had to commit many sins and ultimately be condemned to hell; and he did not want his son to go to hell. His ministers accepted his nephew[107] as the king. Udāyin went on his way on foot to preach and spread Jainism.

This nephew reigned for nearly 10 years. But during that

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(104) It is a belief among almost all the jains that Mahāvīr had travelled only in Magadh, Kāsī, Kośal and Kauśāmbī. The fact stated above proves that the belief is wrong.

(105) About this Udāyin, it is stated in jaina books that he was the last king who had become a Rājarṣi (a jaina monk). (Vide pp. 44 Bharateśvar B. V. Translation). Here the word "Rājarṣi" must not have been used in the sense of only a king turning into a monk, because after him Chandragupta Maurya had also became a monk. It must have meant the king-monk who had obtained Kaivalya Gnān, because before him and not after him, Karkaṇḍu of Kaliṅg, and Prasannachandra of Potanpur had obtained Kaivalya Gnān, after becoming a jaina monk; Muniśree Nyāya-vijayji is inclined to believe, that last "Rājarṣi" means the last king whom Mahāvīr himself had turned into a jaina monk.

(106) He had a son. Vide the previous page.

(107) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 44 "His son Keśav ascended the throne after him". I think this is a mistake, because in the same book on pp. 184, it is stated that his nephew ascended the throne.

time the people were miserable because he was a tyrant. Hearing this Udāyin, now a jaina monk, desiring to convert his nephew to the right path, came to Sindh, in order to preach him. When his nephew knew this, he thought Udāyin, now repenting of giving up the throne to him, had come to regain it from him[108]. Udāyin's body by this time had become very weak on account of observing severe penance, and he required curd-milk to quench his thirst so often. So his nephew sent him curd-mixed with poison, in order to kill him. But supernatural deity became aware of this, and by his power purified the curd-milk of the poison. This incident must have taken place in 537 B. C.

Mohan-jā-dero and the desert of Jesalmir

We have said in the account of Prabhāvatī that she had became a goddess after her death. She had prevented her husband from bringing back from Avanti to Sauvir, that famous ancient idol, because she had predicted that, this city was to be buried underground within a short time. We have also seen how Keśi unsuccessfully tried to poison Udāyin, and how Udāyin was saved by a supernatural deity. This deity was very angry with Keśi on account of his tyrannical deeds. When Udāyin, and his nurse, who was a potter, went away from the city, the deity caused a cyclone of sand on the city. There were heavy showers of sand[109] on a very large area, and a large portion of the country was buried under the sand for ever. That region is now known as the desert of Jesalmir and Thurpārkar[110]. When we look at the desert even now, we get some idea of the havoc that must have been caused on the country as a result of supernatural anger[111]. This took

(108) The prime-minister of Keśi was of the same opinion. So he might have instigated the king to murder Udāyin.

(109) According to Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 183, this incident had taken place some years after the death of Udāyin, i. e. about 520 B. C. If we believe that it took place immediately after the poisoning incident, it must have happened in 534 B. C.

(110) Cf. f. n. nos. 112 and 113 below.

(111) Sed f. n. no. 109 above.

place in 534 B. C. Ten small rivers like the Mihraj, Hakrā, Vahind and others[112] that flowed here, were buried altogether. The flow of large rivers like the Sarasvatī was buried wherever the water was shallow, and continued where the water was deep. So we see the rivers to-day without both the source and the mouth[113]. Some rivers changed their courses, and at some places sand surrounded water on all sides turning it into a lake. At other places marshy regions were formed[114].

Some scholars believe that the peninsula of Kāthiāwār[115] was an island[116] in ancient times; and that it was turned into its present shape due to some natural change, such as described above. Now it will be clear to them that Kāthiāwār was never an island. On the contrary the narrow border line was in the 6th century B. C. a broad region thickly populated, and was known as Sindhu Sauvir.

Now we know how the desert of Jesalmir came into being.

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(112) It is said that seven rivers flowed into the Indus from the east, and they were co-jointly called Sapta-Sindhu. At present there are only five (the Sutlaj, the Zelum, the Rāvi, the Chināb, and the Indus). We do not know the names of the other two. They must have been buried by the showers of sand. Some writers believed that ten rivers flowed there.

(113) Now the reader will understand the cause of the broken flow of the Sarasvatī, which is mentioned in Mahābhārat.

(114) I suppose that this must have been the origin of the northern region of the desert of Cuchchha which is known as "Marshy tract of land".

(115) This is described in Vol. X of J. R. A. S. I have given its substance in f. n. no. 116.

(116) "The points of the gulf of Cambay on the east and of the gulf of Cuchchha on the north, advance further and further and at last merged into each other, thus making Kāthiāwār an island. The land that now makes it a peninsula was the result of a subsequent upheaval,'. Some scholars have based their belief on this. But the origin of the desert of Jesalmir, stated above, leads us to believe that the desert of Cuchchha must have become broader in area at that time. Again it is stated in the jaina books that Mt. Śatruñjay in Kāthiāwār is an eternal place of pilgrimage, and could be travelled to on foot. This makes it impossible the Kāthiāwār was ever an island.

We can also affirm that the ruins of the places which are described in Mr. Henry Cousen's " The Antiquities of Sind", represent these buried portions of Sindhu-Sauvir[117]. Again as Udāyin was a jain, the ruins of many temples now found by Mr. Cousens, represent jaina temples[118]. The ruins of the famous Mohan-jā-dero must have some connection with Sindhu-Sauvir and its destruction by sand.

We have seen how Sauvir was destroyed. Let us now turn our attention to Sindh[119]. We have stated above that several rivers had changed their courses on account of the showers of sand. We know that the capital of Sindh was Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ[120] and it must have been a large city, it being the capital of the most powerful emperor of that time. It must also have been a great trade-centre. Pātliputra the capital of Magadh, was a flourshing trade-centre because it was situated on the Ganges, which facilitated communication and commerce. Similarly, Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ must have been a large flourishing trade-centre on the banks of the river Indus. This large city must have been buried by the showers of sand as described above, and the river Indus must have changed its course either towards further east or to the west of the city, or it must have flowed through the midst of the ruins of the city. If we turn our eyes to the course of the Indus, now between Sukker[121] and Rori[122] or Rohri, do we not

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(117) "The Antiquities of Sind" by Henry Cousens. M. R. A. published in A. D. 1929 by the Government of India.

(118) This whole region consisted of the temples and religious places of a particular religion. Another such instance is Bennā-kaṭak (Vide chapter VI). Over Sindhu-Sauvir ruled the most powerful monarch of the time, Udāyin and he was a jain. Over Bennā-kaṭak ruled Khārvel, another jaina emperor.

(119) Cf. this with my belief of both Sindhu and Sauvir having different capitals, stated above.

(120) In those times only a large city had the ending "Paṭṭan". Compare the area and the description of this city with those of other cities of those times (Pātliputra of Magadh, and Sānchīpurī of Avanti).

(121) Mr. Nāthālāl Chhaganlāl Shāh has devoted his heart and soul to the study of the antiquity of jaina places of pilgrimage, and he is getting a book printed on the subject. He has written to me that he had read somewhere (he does not remember where) that Sukkar was a jaina centre of pilgrimage. Cf. f. no. 124 below.

get the idea, that there the river is flowing over the ruins of some ancient city? Do not the neighbouring town of Lārkhānā and the village of Mohan-jā-ḍero suggest the heart of Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ? Do not the majestic remnants of Mohan-jā-ḍero suggest a large city like Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ? I believe that Mohan-jā-ḍero represents the ruins of Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ[123], which was destroyed in about 534 B. C. After searching examinations of the present ruins of Mohan-jā-ḍero, scholars have come to the conclusion, that they are as old as 2,000 or 3,000 B. C. We know that in the 6th century B. C. it was a flourishing and large city, and it might possibly have been so, for many many centuries before that time, say for 2,000 years. So the ruins can be said as old as 2,000 to 3,000 B. C., without any objection. Again, it is possible that the ruins of the temples now found around it, must be representing the old, majestic jaina temples. Its area[124] must have been twenty miles by seven to eight miles. The ruins of Mohan-jā-ḍero are spread over that much area.

End of the dynasty of king Udāyin

With the death of Udāyin's nephew Keśi, his dynasty ended. The Persian emperor Cyrus or Darius must have annexed the country to his own empire. The annexation must have taken place either in 531-30 B. C. during the time of Cyrus; which is more probable[125], or in 520 B. C. during the reign of Darius.

Other events in the life of Udāyin are of religious importance,

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(122) According to bauddha books, the capital of Sindh was Roruk-Roruv. Can it not have any connection with the modern Rohri?.

(123) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṅgrah pp. 76. "There was a great city (? or Udyān=a garden) named Mṛgavan (It reminds us of the Mṛgavan of Śravasthī) to the N. E. of this city". (Will this be of any use as a hint to the archeological department in fixing the site of the old capital?).

(124) Cf. f. n. no. 121 above, about Sukker. Compare the area of Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ with that of the modern cities like Bombay, Calcuttā, Paris, Berlin, London and others.

(125) In the beginning pages of this volume, I have explained how God Time exerts his influence on men and countries. B. C. 523 was the year of crisis-i. e. intervening period between the two Udayās. God Time exerts his influence even on nature, and this is an instance of it.

and we shall not bother the reader with their narration. We shall close his account after giving the chief dates of his life and those of Prabhāvatī's.

	Udāyin		Prabhāvatī	
		Year Age		Year Age
(1) Birth	B. C.	600—0	B. C.	594—0
(2) Marriage	„	580–20	„	580–14
(3) Coronation	„	580–20	„	580–14
(4) Birth of Prince Keśav	„	575–25	„	575–19
(5) Invansion over Avanti	„	561–39		
(6) Renounced the world	„	546–54	„	569–25
(7) Destruction of Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ	„	535–65		
(8) Death		Not settled	„	567–27

(16) SAURĀṢṬRA AND THE REMAINIG COUNTRIES.

Of the twenty–five countries, the names of which are given at the beginning of Chapter III, we have already given the account of fifteen. Out of these fifteen, fourteen were considered as Ārya (civilized) countries; but as the remaining country of Āndhra had also become gradually civilized, and as one of its rulers was very powerful and famous, we have given its account as an Ārya (civilized country).

Of the remaining ten countries, Lāt, Vatsa, Cuchchha, and Saurāṣṭra were always considered as Ārya, and deserve separate accounts; but we have not done so, because (1) the accounts of the kings who ruled over them, are already given in the short accounts of those countries, (2) no one single dynasty ruled over any of them. The other six Nepāl, Kāmrup, Cholā, Pāndya, Aparānt and Mahārāṣṭra–though they were considered to be Ārya countries later on, yet the same conditions as to rulers, prevailed in them as in the first four countries. Hence no separate accounts are given of them. Out of these ten, only one deserves slight individual notice, which is taken below.

We had some information about the fifteen countries, the accounts of which are already given, but nothing is known about this country. Its name is even seldom mentioned anywhere. While small countries like Videha, Kośala, and Vatsa are written about, nothing is written about this country which is larger than they are in area. One reason of this might be, that this country might have been always under the rule of any of the two neighbouring larger countries, namely, Sindhu–Sauvir and Avanti, we do not know under whose rule Saurāṣṭra was, but it is more possible that it might have been under the rule of Avanti. Later on, when Avanti became a part of the Magadha empire, Saurāṣṭra also must have been annexed to it[126].

Saurāṣṭra

Thus we have given necessary accounts of the sixteen kingdoms of the 6th century B. C. Of these, three of four flourished very much in every way, and so I have given a detailed account about them in the second part of this volume. With them, I have also given the account of Āndhra, though no historian has hitherto paid any notice to it, because it was in the south, and was considered Anārya (uncivilized).

(126) The inscription near lake Sudarśan makes it clear that this country was under the rule of the Mauryās from 372 to 356 B. C. (Chandragupta). We do not know when it first came under the rule of Magadh.

Part 2

PART 2

MAGADH EMPIRE

(A) Śiśunāga dynasty and (B) Nanda dynasty

(A) Śiśunāga dynasty

(B) Nanda dynasty (Nāga dynasty)



Chapter I

(A) Śiśunāga dynasty : Great Nāga dynasty

Synopsis:—*Relation between Śiśunāg and Magadh—Relation between Bṛhadrath and Śiśunāg—Chronology of the Śiśunāga dynasty and discussion about it—Accounts of the first five kings out of ten—Pride of family existing among the kings of Kośal and Magadh and its result—How king Bimbisār became king though he was the youngest among his brothers—Tests to which he was submitted by his father—His going to a foreign country and his progress—His marriage with his first queen Sunandā Significance of Tejanturi—Coronation of Bimbisār—How his eldest son Abhaya-kumār became the prime-minister of Magadh at the age of eleven after passing through the severest test—Bimbisār's life and rule—What Nature did during the time of his rule—Birth of four great men—Religions accepted and rejected by Bimbisār; his acquaintance with Gautam Buddha—Relation between the present and the future lives of Bimbisār—Significance of the year 558 B. C.—Some wonderful events that took place at the time of his marriage with Chillaṇā.*

In the account of Kāśī Deśa we have seen that king Aśvasen of the Bṛhadratha dynasty ruled over it in the 8th century B. C. He was the father of Pārśvanāth, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkar of the jains. Pārśvanāth had become a jaina monk during the life-time of his father. After the death of Aśvasen, a kshatriya named Śiśunāg sat on the vacant throne. Hence the name of his dynasty.

Śiśunāga dynasty

In the account of Kāśī, we have raised two questions, (1) Did Śiśunāg come to the throne immediately after the death of Aśvasen, or after some time ? (2) Was Śiśunāg in any way related to the Bṛhadratha dynasty? We shall try to answer these questions here.

The kings of Śiśunāga dynasty were originally the kings of Kāśī. Later on they were invited to take up the reins of the Magadha empire, and they had earned the fame as emperors of Magadh. So we have thought it proper to give their accounts under the heading of the Magadha empire.

End of the Bṛhadratha dynasty and the date of Śiśunāg's ascending the throne

As with the kings of other countries, so with the kings of Kāśī; we do not know the date or year in which the first king sat on the throne. We might draw conclusions from information furnished to us from certain sources. In Matsya-purāṇ it is stated that the whole Śiśunāga dynasty lasted for 333 years[1]; and that there had been ten kings in the line. Again Nanda dynasty began immediately after the end of this dynasty. The Nanda dynasty lasted for 100 years, after which Chandragupta Maurya[2] became the emperor of Magadh. We have proved in the last Chapter of part I, that Chandragupta Maurya became the emperor of Magadh in 372 B. C. or A. M. E. 155. Calculating backwards we come to the conclusion that Śiśunāga dynasty began in 805 B. C. We do not know when Aśvasen, the last king of the Erhadratha dynasty, died. Now we have already proved in Chapter IV, Part I, that Pārśvanāth became a

(1) In some books the number of years is 225.

(2) I. A. Vol. 32 pp. 229.

jaina monk in 847 B. C. and obtained Nīrvāṇ in 777 B. C. Thus he had become a monk 42 years before the beginning of the Śiśunāga dynasty, and died 28 years after its beginning. Hence Aśvasen might have died any time within or at the end of these 42 years, and that is the interval between the death of Aśvasen and the ascending to the throne of Śiśunāg.

There is no possibility of any relation between them, because their families were different. The Bṛhadrathās were Ikśavāku kshatriyās, while Śiśunāgās were Lichchhvi-Samvriji[3]. Again there were wars between the king of Kośal and Śiśunāg, about as to whose family was higher, and king of Kośal was an Ikśavāku khsatriya.

We know that Śiśunāga dynasty lasted for 333 years, and that there were 10 kings in it. Both jaina and bauddha books agree that Śreṇik was the contemporary of Mahāvīr. After Śreṇik, there were four descendants, thus making a total of five[4], and these five together ruled for 108 years[5]. So five kings must have preceded Śreṇik and they must have together ruled for 333-108=225 years.

Chronological list of the Śiśunāga dynasty

Mr. Vincent Smith, on the authority of the Purāṇās, gives us names of the first four kings and number of years for which every one ruled[6]. Mr. Pārgiter, after much research, says that they ruled for 10 more years i. e. for 136 years and not for 126 as

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(3) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 76 :—"The Pāli writers relate that the Śiśunāgās belonged to the family of Vaiśālī (Lichchhavis). (Ibid pp. 41). Tārānāth says the same of Nandin (Kālāśoka)".

This means that both the Śiśunāgās and the Nandās belonged to the same family of kshatriyās.

(4) See further for the period of rule of every king.

(5) Vide Chapter VII, Part I, the para with the heading "Kings of Avanti for five hundred years".

(6) Vide E. H. I. 4th. ed. pp. 51.

Mr. Smith says[7]. Mr. Smith's list is as folllows:—

(1)	Śiśunāg	40
(2)	Kākvarṇa	26
(3)	Kśemvardhan	36
(4)	Kśemrāj	24
		126

Whencefore we see that there is a difference of 100 years, because we have just calculated that the first five kings ruled for 226 years. This must have been due to either the slip of the pen by the scribe, or due to his wilfully changing the number from 226 to 126. I believe that they must have ruled for 226 years for the following reasons.

At present the average of every king's rule in a dynasty is counted to 25 to 30 years, and thus four kings must have been dead and gone within 120 years. But here we are not concerned with modern conditions and modern times. We are dealing with times when several kings (for instance of Kośal, Vatsa & Aṅga) have ruled consecutively, every one for double the modern average. The chronology of the kings of Vatsa furnishes us with a good instance. Its first five kings ruled for 225 years. Similarly we should have no reason to hesitate in accepting 225 years as the period of rule of the first five kings of Śiśunāga dynasty. We can give some evidence to support it. Mahāvīr is calculated to have lived nearly 250 years after Pārśvanāth. The fifth monk in order from Pārśvanāth was Keśimuni, who was a contemporary of Mahāvīr; who in turn is a contemporary of Śreṇik. Keśimuni is stated to have been the religious preceptor of king Prasenjit of Kośal. Thus Mahāvīr, Śreṇik, Keśi, and Prasenjit are all contemporaries. Now Pārśvanāth was alive when Śiśunāg came to the throne. Thus there was an interval of nearly 250 years between the ascension of Śiśunāg

(7) Vide Pārgiter's "Dynastic List of the Kali Ages".

(8) We should not here forget that this time was the fourth Ārā of Avasarpiṇi. Here five kings have together ruled for 225 years only. If we go still backwards, when the lives were longer, kings will be found who have reigned for still longer periods.

and death of the fifth king. Again every one of these five jaina monks might have been contemporaries of these first five kings.

In the list given above, names of only four kings are given. Who was the fifth and how long did he rule? In jaina books it is clearly stated that Śreṇik came to the throne of Magadh immediately after the death of his father, Prasenjit. Hence the fifth king must have been Prasenjit.

Śreṇik came to the throne in 580 B. C.,[9] and Śiśunāga dynasty began in 805 B. C. Now we shall try to fix the period of rule of every king, keeping in mind the following two rules:— (1) No two consecutive kings could have ruled each for a long period (2) The first king must have ruled for longer periods because their lives must have been longer. (see f. n. no. 8 below). Now all the authors of the books in which the names of these kings are given, agree that the period of rule of the second and the fourth king, was for each 36 years. So we have to arrange the periods of rule of the first, third, and the fifth kings. Keeping in mind the list of the kings of Kośal, we may assign 60 years to the first, 50 years to the second, and the remaining 43 years to the third. So the whole list is now given below[10].

	B.C.	to	B.C.	Years	B.M.E.	to	B.M.E.
(1) Śiśunāg	805	„	745	60	278	„	218
(2) Kākvarṇa	745	„	709	36	218	„	182
(3) Kśemvardhan	709	„	659	50	182	„	132
(4) Kśemjit	659	„	623	36	132	„	96
(5) Prasenjit	623	„	580	43	96	„	53
				225			

(9) The Maurya dynasty was founded in 372 B. C. The Nanda dynasty was founded in 472 B. C.; Śreṇik and his descendants together ruled for 108 years. Counting backwards it would be 580 B. C.

(10) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃśa" Vol. II pp. 19, and the previous pages give us to understand as follows:—

(1) Śiśunāg 40

(2) Śākvarṇa (In Vāyupurāṇa it is Śakvarṇa)

(3) Kśemdharma (or Kśemvarma or Kśemkarma 36; In Vāyu and Brahamāṇd Purāṇās he is assigned 20 years).

(4) Kśatroja (Kśetragna) 36 (In Matsya it is Kśemjit or Kśemārya=40 and Kśemvit=24).

The chronology of the next five kings (which we have to prove later on) is as follows:—[11].

(6) Bimbisār or Śreṇik	580	,,	528	51½	53	,,	2 A.M.E.
(7) Ajātśatru or Kuṇik	528	,,	496	32½	2 A.M.E.	,,	31
(8) Udayan–bhat	496	,,	480	16	31	,,	47
(9) Anurudhdha and Muṇḍ	480	,,	472	8	47	,,	55

108+225=333

Something about the lives of the first five kings

(1 to 5) We know little about these first five kings. The first king Śiśunāg had first ascended the throne of Kāśī. The neighbouring king of Kośal, Vritta[12] belonged to the Ikśavāku family like Aśvasen the last king of the Bṛhadratha dynasty. So he believed that he had the prior right to the throne of Kāśī which was now occupied by Śiśunāg. So there were wars between these two kings, but Vritta was unsuccessful because he was old and inferior in the art of war to Śiśunāg. After some time Śiśunāg was invited[13] to rule over Magadh by Malla kshatriyās to which family he belonged. He placed his son Kākvarṇa on the throne of Kāśī, and himself went to Magadh. The king of Kośal saw this opportunity. Kākvarṇa was a weak king. Vritta invaded Kāśī of Kākvarṇa, and annexed it to his own kingdom. When Śiśunāg heard this, he was furious, and after a great war against the king of Kośal, he regained Kāśī under his rule, Thus he ruled over two countries, Kāśī and Magadh. This indicates that Śiśunāg must have been a powerful and valorous king. After his

(11) Vide the same para as indicated in f. n, no. 5 above.

(12) See the list of names given in Chapter IV. Part I, in the para entitled "Other names besides Prasenjit".

(13) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I., pp. 76 and 70 f. n. no. 16' "Śiśunāg is not alleged to have come by force to Magadh on the extinction of the Bṛhadrathās. The Kāśī sovereigns belonged to a proud house and it is very likely that the reigning king was invited by the Magadha people to fill in the vacant throne".

death his son Kākvarṇa became the king of Kāśī and Magadh. He was not so powerful as his father[14]; so Kāśī was again under the rule of the king of Kośal. We do not know anything else about him. A writer, in the authority of Harṣacharit, says that he was murdered by somebody while entering a certain city. We know nothing about the third and the fourth kings, Kśemvardhan, and Kśemjit. We know something about the fifth king Prasenjit; but it would be better to state it in the account of Śreṇik, because it is more concerned with him. It would be sufficient here to know that the capital of Magadh at this time was Kuśāgrapur[16]. The houses and the palaces in it were built of wood, because there were dense forests in those times and wood was cheap. Again those people were twice as tall as we are, and hence required taller houses; the people also found it less expensive and more convenient to have wooden houses. But because of wood, fire broke out very often[17]. The king, Prasenjit, in order to remove this difficulty, left this city and got a large palace built on the heights of mount Vaibhārgiri, which was near Kuśāgrapur, and named the place Girivraj[18] because it was on the top of a mountain, and made it his capital. But as this new capital was on a mountain, people found it very difficult to trade and have other communications with the other cities. Consequently Śreṇik built another city named Rājgṛhī[19] at the foot of the same mountain and made

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(14) H. H. pp. 497 : Kākavarṇa was dark in complexion and not heroic like his father. It appears that the king of Śrāvastī wrested Benāres from his hands.

(15) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃśa". Vol. II pp. 19 and further.

(16) Vide pp. 44 of "Mahān (great) Samprati".

(17) Cf. this with the condition of Ujjaini described in Chapter VI Part I.

(18) C. H. I. Vol. I. pp. 310,—Fortress on the hill at the foot of which the old capital of Magadh, Rājgṛiha grew up.

(19) See further for details. It has two meanings.—(1) Mount of the kingdom of Rājgiri (2) The mount on which is situated the capital of the kingdom.

The better word is Rājgṛha=the palace in which there is the king's palace, and the king's palace is generally in his capital,

it his capital. The ruins of Rājgṛhī at present give us some idea of the original grandeur of the capital of the Magadha Empire. Both in jaina and bauddha books Rājgṛhī is referred to, very often.

(6) Śreṇik : Biṃbisār:—(How he came to the throne, though he was younger than some of his brothers).

It is said that Prasenjit had many sons[20], and that one of them was Biṃbisār[21]. Once an idea came to the mind of Prasenjit, that it would be better to make that son his successor who would stand first in the two tests devised for them specially[22]. The first was:—The king ordered his servants to fill some baskets of bamboo frame-work with a sweetmeat called (Khājli), and then tie their mouths tightly. Then he called his sons before him. He had also ordered his servants to put some raw earthenware pots full of water with their mouths tightly tied, in the same room. The king now told his sons to eat the sweetmeat and drink water without breaking or untying the baskets and the pots. All of his sons knew not what to do except Biṃbisār, who became busy shaking the baskets gently. Due to this the sweetmeat in the basket was broken into pieces which were coming out of the holes of the bamboo frame-work. Biṃbisār gathered the pieces together, and ate them satisfied his hunger. Then he wrapped pieces of cloth round the pots, out of which, because they were raw, water was oozing out. As soon as the pieces of cloth became wet, he squeezed the water out of them into a vessel, and thus he quenched his thirst. The second test was:—All the princes were invited to

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(20) "Jain Sāhitya Lekh Saṃgrah" pp. 780 and further. Some say that the number of princes was hundred. Some say it was thirty-two, and that Biṃbisār was the youngest. (In jaina books names of as many as sixteen are given).

(21) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃsa" pp. 19. In Bhāgvat, his name is Vidisār. In Viṣṇu, there are two names; Nidisār and Viprisār. In Matsya they are Bindusen and Vighnasen. In Vāyu, Mahāvaṃśa and Aśokāvadān the name is Biṃbisār.

In some jaina books he is called Bhaṃbhāsār. (See above).

(22) Many jaina books contain the descriptions of these incidents. For instance Bharateśvara. B. V. pp. 25 and further.

a splendid dinner by the king in a large hall in the palace. No sooner did the princes begin to eat than furious dogs were released on them. All the princes except Bimbisār stopped eating and got up in confusion. Bimbisār calmly continued to eat, and whenever the dogs approached him he threw at them a piece or two from the untouched dishes of his brothers. He got up only after finishing his meal. The king was highly pleased with his intellectual ability and presence of mind in times of difficulty, and thought that his subjects would be safe and happy if Bimbisār bacame the king after his death.[23] As a prize for being successful in the examination, he gave him a musical instrument named Bhambhā; hence Bimbisār is sometimes called Bhambhāsār in jaina books[24].

Quarrels between the brothers and their results

Other princes began to envy Bimbisār because he had now become a favourite with the king. Prasenjit thought it better to send Bimbisār to a foreign country, and thus save him from any harm from his brothers. Consequently once he purposely insulted Bimbisār for a trivial cause, and Bimbisar, unable to bear the insult, went away with his musical instrument Bhambhā from the capital of his father, though he was only twelve[25]. His father helped him secretly on the way. Bimbisār travelled by water in the Ganges in a small boat[26] and when the boat came in the mid-ocean, his companions changed direction; and after a voyage

(23) In ancient times kings often tested the intelligence and other qualities of their princes, and ministers, Many stories are given illustrating this custom. Cf. f. n. nos. 48 and 50 below.

(24) One who moves with (his) Bhambhā is called Bhambhāsār. Sār= One who moves (from the verb Sṛ to move).

(25) Some one might doubt, how a boy of twelve could have dared to go out alone. But we must remember that at the time the average height was ten feet, (vide f. n. no. 60 on page 29) and a boy attained majority at the age of thirteen, which was also considered the proper age for marriage (vide f. n. no. 64 on p. 30).

(26) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 31. This whole story is described in details here. It is stated, there was no boat but the trunk of a tree.

of twenty days[27] he came to the city of Bennātaṭ[28]. In the morning he went out to strall in the city, and came to the shop of a vaiśya (merchant)[29].

The merchant looked at him and was astonished to see such a handsome young man standing before his shop. He welcomed him to his shop. Bimbisār accepted the invitation and sat on the shop. The merchant received the greatest number of customers on that day, and he thought that it was due to the presence of Bimbisār. So he invited him to his-house as a guest and asked him his name. Bimbisār said that his name was Gopāl. As days passed on, the merchant began to prosper, and he attributed this to the presence of Gopāl who had, by this time, become the favourite of all the members of his household.

His marriage with his first queen Sunandā

There were many rooms in the firm-building of the merchant which were quite unused. Once Bimbisār was stralling in and out of these rooms, and he saw heaps of dust. He examined that dust, and found to his surprise that it was not dust but gold-dust (Tejanturi)[30]. He kept this secret to himself, hoping to help the merchant at some crisis.

Once a great caravan of merchants came into the city[31]. They had brought with them so much goods for sale that no merchant in the city had money enough to buy and pay for all the goods. The merchants of the caravan approached the king and stated their case. The king sent a proclamation in the city

(27) I have stated this number of days on the authority of the same book as in f. n. no. 26 above.

(28) For information and the situation of this city vide pp. 147, the first page of Chapter VI, Part I.

(29) The forefathers of this merchant were very wealthy, but once the king became angry with one of them, and all his wealth and property were confiscated by him. They were reduced to ordinary condition, but they continued their business, though on a smaller scale than before.

(30) Gold dust.

(31) We can assign the year 583 B. C. to this event.

that the merchant who would agree to buy and pay for all the goods of these merchants, would be amply rewarded by him. No merchant in the city had courage enough to accept the offer[32]. Gopāl, however, persuaded, his merchant-master to accept it. The master, after much hesitation accepted it, trusting in the ability of Gopāl to procure money. There were many merchants in the city far richer than this merchant. They began to play jokes on him. But Gopāl and the merchant met the merchants of the caravan in the presence of the king, and Gopāl offered the merchants that portion of the gold-dust which was equivalent in value to the price of their goods. The merchants had no objection to accepting such an offer, and they accepted it. All present, including the king and even the merchant-master, opened their eyes with wonder. The king rewarded and respected the merchant, and compensated for the harm and insult that was done to the merchant by his forefathers.

After this event, Gopāl was respected everywhere, and the merchant gave him in marriage his daughter Sunandā[33]. Two years passed happily.

On this side, Prasenjit fell very ill and he thought that his end was near. He sent his men in all directions to find out Bimbisār. These men, after much wandering, came to Bennātat, where they found prince Bimbisār. The king then sent a messenger with the message to Bimbisār to return to the capital. But Gopāl remembered how his father had insulted him and did not go back. Then his father wrote to him a letter suggesting the reason why he had insulted him[34]. Bimbisār now understood everything and began to make preparations to go to his father. Sunandā, could

(32) In ancient times whenever an extraordinary occasion like this arose, a proclamation was issued throught the city by the king. Cf. this with the selection of the prime-minister described further

(33) This incident must have raken place in 582 B. C. Vide pp. 37 of Bharatesvar B. V. Translation.

(34) For details the reader is requested to read the account of Abhaya-kumār from Bharatesvar B. V. Translation.

not accompany him because she was pregnant. Bimbisār gave her his ring as a remembrance, and then began his journey this time by land[35]. After some time he reached Rājgiri–Girivraj. Prasenjit was much pleased to see Bimbisār, and in a short time he died. Bimbisār's coronation ceremony was duly performed in about 580B.C.

In the whole of Śiśunāga dynasty (Śiśunāga dynasty included within it both the small Śiśunāga dynasty and the Nanda dynasty). Bimbisār has ruled for the longest time. He is said to have ruled for 52 years[36], according to bauddha books[37]; while according to Purāṇās he is said to have ruled for 51 years. It is possible that this difference of one year is due to the fact that his son Kuṇik had kept him in prison for one year[38]; or he must have ruled for 51 years and some months which the authors of Purāṇās might not have taken into consideration.

His life and the period of his rule

His death must have taken place in 528 B. C.[39], because it is proved that he died eight years[40] before Gautam Buddha who died in 520 B. C.[41]; again it is also known that Mahāvīr died a year and a half after him (i. e. in the second year of the reign of Ajātśatru) in 527 B. C.[42].

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(35) He had gone from Magadh to Bennā–kaṭak by sea, and returned from it to Magadh by land. The descriptions of these voyages made by him will convince any one that Bennā–kaṭak was situated exactly on the place which I have assigned to it. See the biginning pages of Chapter VI, Part I (from pp. 147 and further).

(36) C. I. pp. 5.

(37) Dipvaṃśa III 56–61; Mahāvaṃśa II, 258 seq.; J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 97 f. n. no. 109; I. A. 1914 pp. 133.

(38) In jaina books twelve years are stated. It must have been a scribe's mistake. It must be twelve months.

(39) See f. n. no. 41 below.

(40) Vide Vol. II, Chapter I, Part III.

(41) Ind. Ant. 1914 pp. 133 :—"Bimbisār has died before Lord Buddha and Mahāvīr". Vide pp. 22 of I. A. Vol. 32, and C. H. I. pp. 157.

(42) Vide Vol. II, Chapter I. Part III.

Because Bimbisār died in 528 B. C. and he ruled for 52 years, he must have ascended the throne in 580 B. C., when he came to the throne he was fifteen, and so he must have been born in 595 B. C. Again in bauddha books it is stated that Gautam Buddha was five years older than Śreṇik[43], and Buddha was born in 600 B. C.[44]. Thus Bimbisār died at the age of 595-528=67 years.

Prince Abhaya kumār as a minister

We know that when Bimbisār started towards Magadh his wife was pregnant. When the period of pregancy was over she gave birth to a son (B. C. 580), to whom was given the name of Abhayakumār[45]. When the child became seven to eight years old, and was playing in the street with other children, one of them nick-named him "fatherless". The child felt the sting of the insult, and immediately ran to his mother, and asked her the name of his father. She gave him the ring given to her by Bimbisār; he gleaned whatever information he could, from his mother's father, and then started towards Magadh to find out his father. Drawn by love for her child, his mother accompanied him[46]; and after a year and more[47] they reached Rājgiri, the capital of Magadh. Leaving his mother to rest in one of the gardens outside the city, he went into the city. He was a handsome boy; he attracted the attention of all who met him on the road. Wandering here and there, the boy came to a place where a crowd had gathered. Inquiring the

(43) See f. n. no. 62 below.

(44) Vide Vol. II, Chapter I, Part III.

(45) Abhaya-kumār had such a magic personality, that whoever was fortunate enough to have friendship with him, attained Abhaya-pada (absolution) within a short time.

R. M. M. pp. 61 "Prince Abhaya, son of king Bimbisār".

(46) In these times, even women did not hesitate to go on a long voyage. Of course, in the present instance, Sunandā was drawn by her love towards both her son and her husband.

(47) Cf. f. n. no. 25 above. We should remember that the average height of men was double the average height of the man of our time.

cause of the crowd, he came to know that the king was in need of an able prime-minister, and he would select that man as the prime-minister who would be successful in the test specially arranged for the purpose[48]. There was a worn out dry well, and at the bottom of the well was placed a gold ring. It had been proclaimed by the king[49] that any one, who, while sitting on the edge of the well, could take out the ring without ropes, would be selected as the prime-minister. Abhayakumār showed his desire to enter the competition, and asked the officer on the spot, whether there was any age-restriction for competitors. All present stood lost in amazement at such an odd bid from a child. The officer, however, informed him that there was no age-restriction, and that he could enter the competition. Abhayakumār was successful in the competition[50].

People were wonderstruck at his skill and praised him loudly. Bimbisār was informed of the success of this prodigy and he also could not hide his astonishment. He came to receive him on his elephant, and invited Abhayakumār to ride with him to the palace on the same elephant. To his surprise Abhayakumār declined the offer and said that he wanted to go back to his mother whom he had left outside the city in a garden. The king was all this time scrutinizing the appearance of the boy, and saw on his finger the ring, which he had given to Sunandā, he also noted that the boy was exactly like him in appearance. In the meanwhile, the boy said to the king that he had a twin-brother, who was with his mother and that he could not remain away from her for a long time. The king, in order to be sure, decided to accompany the

(48) Cf. f. n. no. 23 above.

(49) Cf. f. n. no. 32 above.

(50) First he located the position of the ring with great accuracy. Then he sent for a lump of cow-dung, and threw it on the ring, which stuck into it. Then he threw some burning dry grass on it, so as to dry the lump of cow-dung. Then he requested the king's officer to pour water in the well. As the water began to rise in the well, the dried piece of cow-dung began to come up, as it floated on the surface of water. At last, the whole well was filled with water, and the piece of cow-dung came up with the ring in it.

boy; thereupon the king, the boy, and a crowd of officers and citizens went to the garden where Sunandā was anxiously waiting for her son. When the king saw her, he at once recognized her as her dear wife; and he embraced his wife. The boy and all the people were much pleased to see the re-union. The king took the boy on his lap and kissed him over and over again. Then he remembered the boy's talk about the twin-brother, and asked Sunandā where the second son was. Poor Sunandā ! She had no other son, and she thought that the king doubted her character. Gathering courage she said mildly, that she had only one son who was sitting in his lap. The Abhaya-kumār explained that when he was talking about the twin-brother, he was alluding to the fact whenever he left his mother, his body was away, yet his soul was in the heart of his mother—so much was his mother's love for him. The king, the queen, and all present were again astonished at the sharp intellect[51] of the boy. Then they all went to the palace riding on the elephant. Now we will call Abhaya-kumār the prime-minister[52]. This incident must have taken place between 570 to 568 B. C., when Bimbisār was 25 to 27 years old and Abhaya-kumār was 10 to 12 years old.

Conditions created by Nature at a transitional stage

When any nation, person or thing, passes from one stage into another, the exact time of this change of stages is called the transitional period. During such periods, the leaders of a nation have to be very careful otherwise such a confusion will prevail in the order of things that there would be no possibility of any sort of order for a long time. We know that when king Bimbisār was reigning, the fourth Arā of Ava-sarpini was coming to a close, and the fifth was to begin. Vast changes were due to happen every where. Even Nature has to be very careful at

(51) Even at present, the jaina merchants write on the first page of their ledgers. "Let us have the intellect of Abhaya-kumār". Many instances, like one quoted above, showing the intellectual power of Abhaya-kumār are described in jaina books.

(52) See f. n. no. 72 on page 33, Chapter II, Part I.

such periods. So she created four great men at the same time[53]; two of which were religious leaders—(Buddha and Mahāvīr), and the other two were social and political leaders (Bimbisār and Abhaya-kumār). As it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between religious questions on the one side, and social and political question on the other, these four leaders worked to-gether in harmony for the welfare of the people.

Religions followed by Bimbisār

We have stated above that religious and social as well as political problems are very closely connected with one another. In history we are more concerned with social and political, than with religious problem. But in the life of Bimbisār, changes of faith have played an important part, and have also influenced social and political events of his reign. Hence, we shall state briefly the religions he followed and the time of each.

Bauddha books say that Bimbisār followed Bauddha religion and jaina books say that Bimbisār followed Jainism. In bauddha books he is famous by the name of Bimbisār, while in jaina books he is more commonly known as Śreṇik. Both books are partly right and partly wrong.

We have seen above that Bimbisār was staying at the house of his father-in-law in Bennātaṭ, and followed Jainism[54] before he came to the throne in 580 B. C. Again we shall prove later on that he had once more become a follower of Jainism when he married Chillaṇā in 558 B. C. This means that he might have been a follower of Buddhism any time between 580 B. C., and 558 B. C. (22 years).

In bauddha books it is clearly stated that Gautam Buddha[55]

(53) There is a verse in Bhagvad-gitā (vide f. n. no. 10 on pp. 6) which says that God takes birth on this earth as a man when sins have flooded the world to an unbearable extent.

(54) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 37 "He worshipped thrice every day according to Jainism".

(55) Vide Vol. II, Chapter I, Part III.

renounced the world at the age of 29, began to spread his gospel at the age of 34, attained Nirvāṇa at the age of 57, and attained Parinirvāṇa at the age of 80. As he was born in 600 B. C. these four incidents must have taken place in 571 B C., 564 B. C.; 543 B. C., and 520 B. C. respectively. Of these four, two–571 B. C., and 564 B. C.–had taken place during those 22 years in the life of Biṃbisār (580 to 558 B. C.) when he was not a jaiṇ. Again, it is stated in the bauddha books[56] that upto 564 B. C. when he began to preach[57], (1) he had made no man his disciple. This is the reason why this period of seven years (from 29 to 36 years of his age) of his life is blank in the bauddha books, because he was during this period not a bauddha but a jain (vide Ch. I Vol. II of this book); (2) and he had met Biṃbisār for the first time in 564 B. C. at Rājgiri[58] or Girivraj; (3) and he had made Biṃbisār's queen Kśemā, a bauddha nun in 558 B. C., i. e. six years after his meeting with Biṃbisār[59]. Thus Biṃbisār and the inmates of his palace can be said to have come in contact with Buddha during 564 to 558 B. C. (six years or seven years)[60]. In 558 B. C. or a few months before that, Biṃbisār married Chillaṇā and accepted Jainism. Gautam

(56) Vide ibid.

(57) He renounced the world at the age of 29 in 571 B. C.; and he began to preach his gospel at the age of 36. We have yet to find out what he did during those intervening seven years. Nothing is given in bauddha books about those years.

(58) We intentionally write here Rājgiri and Girivraj, but not Rājgṛhī.

(59) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃśa" Vol. II pp. 35; C. H. I. pp. 183 :— "Seven years before he became a Buddha". If this is true, Kśemā must have been made a bauddha nun in 543+7=550 B. C. But this is not possible because Biṃbisār had become a devout jain, seven years before that. It is possible that, it must have been 17 years instead of 7 (543+17=560 B. C. or as some authorities believe 541 to be the year of the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, 541+17=558 B. C. (Part III Chapter I). Or it must have been seven years after he began to preach his gospel i.e. 564 – 7=557 B. C. The last conclusion is more probable as we shall see later on.

(60) The year 558 B. C. has played a very important part in the life of Biṃbisār.

Buddha might have met him after 558 B. C. for a religious discussion, but without success and hence Bimbisār could be said to have been a follower of Buddhism at the most for seven years[61].

Now we have to decide what religion he followed from 580 B. C. to 564 B. C., the first 16 years of his rule. As Buddhism was established after 564 B. C., he must have been a follower either of the Vedic religion or of Jainism. In one of the books[62] it is stated that his mother was the daughter of a Bhattiya kśatriya family, which may possibly have been the native of Āyuddhā[63]. The Bhātiās of to-day declare themselves to be descendants of kśatriyās of the Bhattiya family. Āyuddhā and Kāśī are each other's neighbours, and it is possible that the kings of both the countries might have given their daughters in marriage to one another. Again, right from the time of Śiśunāg, Kāśī had been under the control of the kings of Magadh. Hence Prasenjit might have married the daughter of the Bhattiya family. During the reign of Prasenjit, the Vedic religion[64] was in full swing. Sacrifices of animals to various gods was the order of the day. (Nature created great men to put a stop to such atrocities[65]). The kśatriyās of those times might have been the followers of the Vedic religion[66]. Bimbisār, thus, must have been a follower

(61) On account of this reason Chetak, at first, did not agree to the request of Bimbisār, to give his daughter in marriage to him.

(62) " Chronology of India " by Duff p. 5.—" He was born of a Bhattiya queen. He was a friend to Buddha, who was senior to him by five years. He was murdered after a reign of 52 years.

(63) See f. n. no. 14, pp. 64 and also no. 16 on pp. 76 and no. 25 on pp. 78; again the account of the mother of Nanda Bṛhaspati given further in this volume.

(64) Many persons, who were brahmins by birth, were followers of Jainism in those times. Even many of the disciples of Lord Mahāvīr were brahmins by birth. In those times, a man did not follow the vedic religion simply because he was born of brahmin parents, as it is generally done to-day. We shall see later on that Śakḍāl, Chāṇakya, etc. though they were brahmins by birth, were all jains by faith.

(65) See no. 53 above and the matter concerning it.

(66) After Prasenjit, many of the kshatriyās had changed their faith from Brāhminism to Jainism. They continued to follow Jainism from Śreṇik to

of the Vedic religion because his father must have also been a follower of the same religion. He ceased to be a follower of the Vedic religion, when he came into contact with two great religious prophets[67]. Thus, he was a follower of the Vedic religion[68] for the first sixteen years of his rule (580 to 564 B. C.); then he was a follower of Buddhism for six to seven years (564 to 558 B. C.), and at last he became a follower of Jainism for the rest of his life (558 to 528 B. C.). We have discussed these changes of religion of his, because they had a great bearing on the social

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Pusyamitra of the Śunga dynasty and his religious preceptor Patañjali, the famous grammarian. All the kings of Magadh during this time (except Aśoka) were jains.

(67) First he came into contact with Buddha, then with Mahāvīr, because Gautam Buddha began to preach his gospel in 564 B. C., and Mahāvīr began to preach his gospel in 556 B. C. eight years after Buddha.

(68) Purātattva Volume II. p. 3.

Two events have occurred in the life of Bimbisār to support this conclusion, which are as under:—

(i) Once he killed, while hunting, a female deer. Then he saw her in throes of death. At the same time she gave birth to a fawn, and in a short time both died. Bimbisār's heart did not melt with pity at seeing such a horrible sight. He, on the contrary was pleased and boasted about it, as if he had hunted a tiger. He thus committed a great sin and thus deserved severe punishment in subsequent lives. (ii) It is stated in Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 201, "Śrenik committed a great sin by eating flesh; Krsna lost his kingdom because he was addicted to wine; Daśarath committed a great sin by killing an innocent man, and Kayavannā lost his wealth by loose morality." This makes it clear that Śrenik had eaten flesh. Both Jainism and Buddhism denounce and prohibit eating flesh (though in Buddhism, flesh is eaten under certain circumstances.) Thus he must have committed the above deed before he became a follower either of Buddhism or Jainism.

We do not know when he killed this female deer. According to Jainism, however, we can calculate the year of the above event, as follows. It is one of the belief of Jainism that every person's events of his next life, are determined by what he does during ⅓ rd. of his life; be it the 1st, or the 2nd, or the 3rd division of his life. We know that Bimbisār died at the age of 67. (At the age of 15 he ascended the throne, and he died after ruling for 52 years.) Every third division of his life consisted of 22⅓ years. Hence he must have committed the above-stated great sin during the first division (i. e. 595–22=574 B. C.)

changes that he made during his rule[69], with the help of his prime-minister Abhayakumār.

The significance of the year 558 B. C.

We have stated in f. n. no. 60 above, that this year has played a very important part in the life of Bimbisār. We know that he accepted Buddhism as his faith after his meeting with Buddha in 564 B. C. Buddha had again met Bimbisār at the end of the 559 B. C., and had made his queen Kśemā a bauddha nun, thus showing that his influence prevailed very much in the harem. Bimbisār must not have willingly consented to Kśemā's being a

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because during the second and the third he was a follower, first of Buddhism, and then of Jainism. This means that for the first sixteen years of his rule (580 to 564 B. C.) he was a follower of the vedic religion, in which was allowed flesh-eating and killing animals. During this time animal sacrifices were very much in vogue.

I take this opportunity to state one more detail. Those readers who are not interested in such things, are requested to leave it, as it is. It is stated in jaina books that Bimbisār, at present is in hell (Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp 201, Jaina Dharma Prakāśa, 1984 V. E. pp. 187.) In the next Ut-sarpiṇi he will be the first Tīrthankar of the Jains named Padmanābh. (Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 51) He is condemned to hell, because not only did he kill a pregnant female deer, but enjoyed the sight of her suffering from the pangs of death. (All civilized people to-day, agree to the fact, that to kill any innocent and harmless animal, is not humane.) One would naturally ask why such a sinner, who deserved hell, is destined to become a Tīrthankar. ? The answer is, that he had spent the rest of his life in promoting the welfare of his subjects. He made many reforms with the help of his prime-minister Abhayakumār. Again he was helped and inspired by Mahāvīr and his first disciple Gautam. Mahāvīr reached Kaivalya Gnāna stage in 556-B. C. and entered Nirvāṇa in 527 B. C. Out of these thirty years, he had stayed for 16 monsoons in Rājgṛhī, and had helped and inspired Bimbisār and his son in promoting the welfare of the people. All this is related in the form of dialogue in Bhagavati Sūtra of the Jains. (One must have some faith in it, to take it as historical truth.)

(We have not discussed here, when the next Ut-sarpiṇi will begin, and when Bimbisār will come out of hell, because we are not concerned with these questions here. These things interest only those, who have some faith in Jainism.)

(69) We shall have to give details about this later on.

bauddha nun, and when Buddha made her a nun against his will, he was displeased with Buddha, and he must have given up Buddhism. There is no reference to any meeting of Buddha and Bimbisār after this event[70]. Thus the conversion of queen Kśemā into a buddhist nun was the cause of the change of religion in the life of Bimbisār, and also the cause of its decline[71].

Thus Bimbisār was so much displeased with Kśemā's conversion that he ceased to be a follower of Buddhism[72]. Now he wanted to marry, because Kśemā was no longer his queen. A painter showed him a picture of one of the daughters[73] of king Chetak of Videha.

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(70) C. H. I. pp. 184 "On Gottam's visit to Rājgira, Bimbisār presented him with the bamboo-grove where huts could be erected for the accommodation of the order; we hear very little about him in the books. He is not even mentioned in three out of the four Nikāyās and the few references in the fourth are of the most meagre kind."

Further see f. n. no. 7, next chapter; this shows why Rājgrhī is scarcely used in bauddha books.

(71) This should be a lesson to those jaina monks who are, at present, in the habit of making minor boys and girls monks and nuns without the consent of their elders and guardians. Important resolutions have been passed at the Jaina Conferences at Ajmer (Sthānakvāsi) and Ahmedābād (Mūrtipūjak), (A. D. 1933 & 34) to check the nasty custom. See f. n. nos. 19, 86 & 88, next chapter.

(72) Bimbisār was tired of his palace at Rājgir because, while he was staying there, he was separated from Kśemā; hence the relations between him and Gautam Buddha were estranged. So he changed his capital from Rājgir to Rājgrhī. Ajātśatru and Udāyan had also changed their capitals on account of similar domestic reasons. See further in this chapter for details.

(73) King Chetak had two daughters who were unmarried. The elder's name was Sujyeṣṭā, and the younger's name was Chillaṇā. They were fast friends. A nun, who was insulted by them, decided to get Sujyeṣṭā married with a king who had many queens, and thus make her unhappy. She painted a beautiful picture of Sujyeṣṭā and showed it to Śrenik: he was fascinated by her beauty; whereupon he sent a messenger to Cheṭak with a request to marry her with him. Cheṭak did not comply with the request and Śrenik began to pass gloomy days. At last Abhayakumār came to know the cause of the sadness of his father, and he promised him to fulfil his desire.

Accordingly, he went to Vaiśāḷī in disguise, and there established himself

The king was fascinated with the beauty of the girl and requested Cheṭak to give his daughter in marriage to him, thinking that a small king like him, dare not refuse him anything. He lost his temper when Cheṭak refused his request in an insulting manner. Then Abhayakumār inquired into the matter, who made it clear to the king that Cheṭak meant no offence in refusing his

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as a dealer in toilets on the road, which was frequented by the maid-servants of king Cheṭak's palace. In his shop he hung a picture of king Śreṇik and began to salute it ceremoniously every day. The maid-servants asked him one day, out of curiosity, whom he was so reverently bowing every day. Abhayakumār acquainted them with the picture and also told them, his mind was taken hold of by Sujyeṣṭā. The maid-servants told Sujyeṣṭā, all these things. and she decided to run away to Śreṇik secretly. Śreṇik (i) came, on the day fixed, with some of his faithful warriors at the other end of an underground passage, the first end of which was in the royal palace, and through which Sujyeṣṭā was to come to him. While Sujyeṣṭā was busy making preparations for departure, Chillaṇā asked her where she was going; and out of love for her Sujyeṣṭā told her everything. Chillanā too, decided to accompany her; and thus both the sisters, after passing through the passage, sat in the chariot of Śreṇik. The chariot began to move. It had not gone far, when Sujyeṣṭā, was reminded of the fact that she had forgotten her jewel-basket in the palace. So the chariot was stopped and she went back to the palace to fetch it. In the meanwhile, Cheṭak was informed of this secret escapade; so his warriors ran after the chariot of Śreṇik, through the passage. Finding it impossible to fight against them with his few warriors, and thus waiting for the return of Sujyetṣā, Śreṇik ordered the charioteer to drive the chariot at full speed. His warriors checked the approach of Cheṭak's warriors and he reached safely his place, with Chillaṇā, but without Sujyeṣṭā. In this fight Nāg-rathīka's (ii) 32 sons, who were brave warriors and bodyguards of Śreṇik, were killed. (These thirty-two sons were born at the same time, and were destined (iii) to die at the same time.)

(i) At this time the name "Śreṇik" was not given to him. It was given many years later, after he formed the guilds. Here he should have been called Bimbisār.

(ii) "Mahārathik" is an officer of a high position in the state. Details are given in the account of Śātkaraṇi of Andhra, later on. About this Nāg-rathik see the f. n. (iii) below.

(iii) Kalpa-Sūtra pp. 104, and also account of Sulasā in Bharateśvar B. V. Translation:—Sulasā's husband Nāg was a jain. Sulasā became a jain

request, but that it was his principle[74] not to give any of his daughters in marriage to one who was not a jain. Thus Bimbisār began to be inclined towards Jainism, and Abhayakumār, who was a jain, encouraged him in it. Abhayakumār, with his unusual ability, brought the girl and the king together within six to twelve

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The faces of Sujyeṣṭā and Chillaṇā were as like two peas, and Śreṇik, mistaking Chillaṇā for her elder sister, began to address her as Sujyeṣṭā. Chillaṇā, however, told him the truth· the king, accepting the decree of fate, consoled himself with her. He married her with full pomp and ceremony in his capital.

When Cheṭak came to know that not only has Sreṇik married his daughter Chillaṇā, but had also become a follower of Jainism, he established friendly relations with him. Sujyeṣṭā became a jaina nun.

(74) All the daughters of Cheṭak were married with great kings, and they were all jains. It was a principle with Cheṭak, never to marry any of his daughters with a king who was not a jain, however great and powerful he might be. He married his daughter Śīvādevī with Chaṇdpradyot only after he became a follower of Jainism he came into contact with Udāyin of Sindhu-Sauvir.

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after she married him. When Bimbisār came to the throne, Nāg joined service under him. Sulasā had no issue, and she worshipped a god for children. The god was pleased with her devotion, and he gave her 32 pills and told her to swallow one every day, so that she would have 32 sons, one by one. Sulasā thinking that it would be better to have one good son, than to have 32 mediocre ones, swallowed all the 32 pills on one day. During her pregnancy she suffered much pain. At last the god told her that she would give birth to 32 sons at the same time, and they would die at the same time. These thirty-two sons died while fighting against the soldiers of Cheṭak in order to protect their king Śreṇik, whose service they had taken up.

(Bimbisār came to the throne in 580 B. C., and Nāg joined his army in the same year; Sulasā must have given birth to her 32 sons, two or three years after 580 B. C., i. e. about 576 B. C. Bimbisār married Chillaṇā in 558 B. C. (i. e. 1½ or 2 years before Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya-Gnāna stage.) By 558 B. C, these 32 sons must have been 18 years old, which was the proper age for fighting in those times, when boys attained majority at the age of 13 or 14. Thus the above story has the support of historical dates.)

months[75]. Bimbisār was married with Chillaṇā; she was a devout jain. Being constantly in her company, Bimbisār's faith in Jainism increased. Then happened the incident of Anāthmuni, which made him too a devout follower of Jainism[76]; and gradually by observing all the tenets of Jainism he at last became fit for being destined to be the first Tīrthaṅkar in the next Ut-sarpiṇi[77]

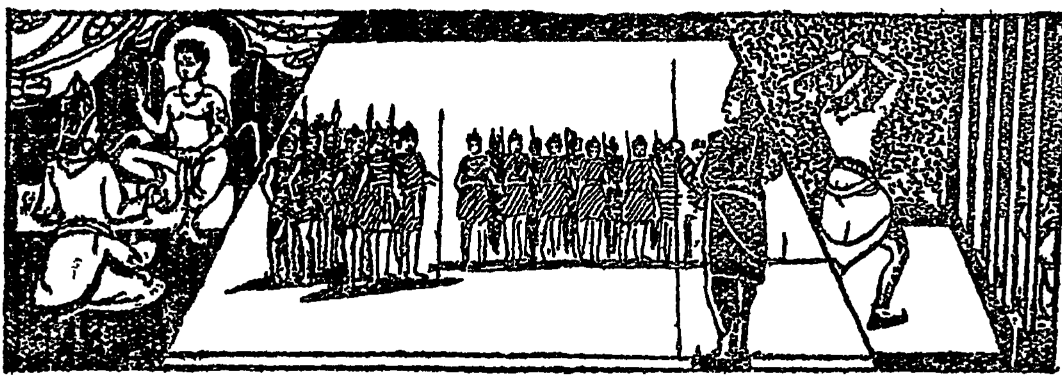
Thus the year 558 has played a very significant part in his life, on account of the three changes that took place in the year; (1) He changed his capital from Rājgiri[78] or Girivraj to Rājgṛhī. (2) He married with Chillaṇā. (3) He left Buddhism and became a follower of Jainism.

(75) For details vide pp. 326, Bharateśvar B. V. Translation. The summary is given in no. 73 above.

(76) This incident is described in details in jaina books. In bauddha books too, is given the story of one Anātha.

(77) See f. n. no. 68 above.

(78) See f. n, no.. 72 above,



Chapter II

Śreṇik (continued)

Synopsis:—*Where and why he changed his capital?—Meanings of Rājgiri, Girivraj, and Rājgrhī and their situations—Magadh's trade with eastern and western countries—Why Bimbisār was named Śrenik?—Persons who inspired and helped him in the formation of guilds—Different names of Śreṇik—The time from which he began to have his coins—Śreṇik was fond of arts, admirer of virtues, and preserver of peace—Incidents to support the above virtues—More details about his all-round life—Discussion about his race and family—His queens, sons, daughters and their short accounts—Marriage customs and instances about them—The reason of his death and justice or injustice of the stain on the fame of Ajātśatru—How much time he remained in prison?*

We have already stated above that Prasenjit had changed his capital from Kuśāgrapur to Rājgiri–Rājgir, on the top of one of the hills of mount Vaibhārgiri[1]. We also

Change of capital

know that its position made it difficult for the merchants of the city to trade with other cities. Bimbisār had long been thinking of changing the place of his capital; but upto 556 B. C. his mind was in an unsettled condition and full of anxieties[2], and he had not fixed ideas of working for the welfare of his subjects. Again in 556 B. C. he had become a confirmed jain; Mahāvīr had attained Kaivalya–gnān and was, with the help of Abhayakumār, inspiring him to do his best for his subjects. After 556 B. C. his mind was constantly occupied with the thoughts of how to make his subjects socially and politically better. Hence he must have found that to improve the trade and commerce of his capital, he ought to change its place from the top of the hill[3] to the foot of the same mountain[4]. This place was surrounded by hills on all sides thus affording it natural protection from invaders. This new city was named Rājgrh or Rājgrhī[5]. This makes it clear that the places of Rājgir or Rājgiri and Rājgrh–grhī were different, though the two places were very near each other[6]. The other thing to note is that Rājgrhī was established after 556 B. C., and Rājgir–giri was established in Prasenjit's time. Again Bimbisār has accepted Jainism as his faith in 558 B. C. Hence, in bauddha books Buddha is said to have met Bimbisār in Rājgir–giri, but not in Rājgrhī. Sometimes it is Girivraj, but never Rājgrhī[7]. Sometimes it is found in them as

(1) Vide Chapter I. Part II, account of Prasenjit,

(2) To know what worries clouded his mind, vide the pragraph about his change of faith in Chapter I, and f. n. no. 68 below it.

(3) "Fortress on the hill"; cf. f. n. no. 18 on pp. 231 words quoted on the authority of C. H. I.

(4) "At the foot of the hill" f. n. no. 18 on pp. 231.

(5) Rājgrhī=the place in which there are palaces of kings (cf. f. n. no. 18 on pp. 231).

(6) See f. n. nos. 9 below, and the matter concerning it.

(7) Cf. f. n. no. 70 on pp. 245 and the matter concerning it. The author of H. I. has also used the word 'Rājgir" and then stated his doubt.

a result of ignorance of some modern writers, who either did not know the difference between them, or wanted to show their knowledge. In jaina books, on the other hand, the capital of Śreṇik is always named Rājgṛhī, and seldom Girivraj or Rājgir. I hope these conclusions of mine will ultimately prove to be true as further researches will support them with their evidence.

In connection with Rājgṛhī, Sir Cunningham writes:—"This Rājgṛh (the abode of king) is quite different from the capital of Jarāsandh as well as that of king Prasenjit, the father of king Śreṇik. It is incorrect to say, that it was founded by king Ajātśatru, son of Bimbisār, as inferred by some. (See "Chronology of India" by Duff. pp. 6.[8]. Thus both Sir Cunningham and the jaina books agree that Rājgṛhī and Girivraj (founded by Prasenjit) were different[9]. This city was 12 yojans long and 9 yojans broad[10]. The Ganges flowed on its southern outskirts. On all sides of Rājgṛhī there were hills, except on the southern side. The ranges of mount Vaibhārgiri stretched upto the hill of Aśvatthāmā in Orissā, at the foot of which is the famous inscrip- of Dhauli–Jagudā. This inscription is as intimately connected with Jainism as with Śreṇik. I have explained this in Chapter VI Part I. I will explain it in details in the accounts of Priyadarśin and Khārvel. In short, the region between Rājgṛh and the inscription of Dhauli–Jagudā is full of the relics of Jainism.

Trade and commerce

We know that the fourth Ārā of Avasarpiṇi was to end in 523 B. C. Hence Bimbisār's reign was in the transitional period between the end of the fourth Ārā and beginning of the fifth. Again, means of livelihood were to become scarcer than before while dishonesty and other vices were to increase. During the fourth Ārā, traders and

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(8) Bhilsā Topes pp. 237. This is supported by jaina books. (Vide pp. 48 "Mahān Samprati" printed at Bhavnagar.

(9) Bharateśvar B. V. Translation pp. 27; f. n. no. 8 above.

(10) The area itself suggests that Rājgṛhī must have been founded at the foot of the mountain.

caravans travelled from one city to the other[11] and exchanged and sold and bought goods by means of the barter system or payments in gold dust[12] etc.[13]. The necessity of the coins was felt, as the time of the beginning of the fifth Ārā came nearer and nearer. (The necessity had really begun to be felt from 556 B. C., when Mahāvīr began to preach his gospel). Consequently Bimbisār put into currency what are called punch-marked coins by experts[14].

The capitals of all districts were connected with one another for the trade purposes, by trunk roads[15]; one of which stretched from Takśila (in the Punjāb) to Rājgṛhī. Communications by water were also very felicitous. Traders travelled from Arabia to the west coast of India and back. In the east, too, traders travelled over long distances. We shall quote two instances of how trade was going on among the merchants of countries very far from one another, by land as well as by water.

Bimbisār's empire stretched upto the far-end of eastern India, and the kingdom of Pulusāki spread to the far end of the north-western India. Pulusāki came to know the greatness of Bimbisār through the merchants of his kingdom, who had frequently travelled to Rājgrhī for trade-purposes. To establish friendly relations with him he sent valuable presents to him with his merchants. Bimbisār returned this offer of friendship with still

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(11) Cf. Chapter I. Part I and f. n. no. 15 below.

(12) Coins of Anc. India by Sir Cunningham pp. 21:—

"The Indians had no coinage (Herodotus III pp. 94–96); that the tribute was paid in gold-dust". The same author while describing Udambar coins on pp. 36 says, "they were referred to by the great grammarian Pāṇini" (whose time is B. C. 376, see further Nand IX) which means that the coins were current in India for a pretty long time if not very long ago. (Of course there were punch-coins and not struck in mints).

(13) We have referred to this gold-dust at several places in this volume e. g. Chapter II Part I, Chapter I Part II, etc.

(14) For models vide "Coins of India" or Chapter 2 part III of this book, f. n. no. 12 above.

(15) Takśilā, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, Ujjaini, Rājgrhī etc., were great trade-centres of those times. See f. n. no. 32 pp. 18.

more valuable gifts. The two kings became each other's friends to such an extent that Pulusāki, wishing to see Biṃbisār personally, set out from his capital towards Rājgrhī. On account of his old age, and also on account of the fatigue of the journey and the change of climate, he died immediately after entering the boundaries of Magadh. This shows that kings of great countries visited one an other.

As an instance of sea-voyages we can quote another incident. The region about modern Aden[16] was known as Ārdradeśa, and its king was known as Ārdra-rājā. The eldest son was called Ardrakumār. Once the merchants of this country landed at Laxmipur[17] and then travelled upto Magadh. There they presented to Abhayakumār the gifts that were sent to him by Ārdrakumār. When these merchants finished their business transactions and were about to return to their own country, they approached Abhayakumār for the return message. Abhayakumār sent with them a jaina idol to Ārdrakumār, with the hope that he might turn towards Jainism, and thus have an opportunity to uplift his soul[18]. The hope of Abhayakumār was realised[19] when the latter

(16) According to some, Ārdra is indentified with the region on the shore of the Adriatic sea of Italy; but it seems improbable.

(17) For details, vide the account of Abhayakumār in Bharateśvar B. V. Translation. There this port is said to have been on the west coast of southern India. According to my opinion it must have been somewhere between Sopārā, the capital of Aparānt, and Broach (See f. n. no 35 on pp. 20).

(18) Cf. f. n. no. 45 pp. 237. In jaina books it is stated that whoever formed friendship with Abhayakumār, obtained absolution.

(19) I have given a short summary below. For details vide pp. 210 to 217 Bharateśvar B. V. Translation.

B. B. V. Translation pp. 215:—Prince Ārdra was married with Śrimatī, the daughter of a merchant, and a son was born to them; when the son began to go to school, Ārdra kumār wanted to become a jaina monk, and he asked the consent of Śrimatī. She sat in a room and began to spin cotton. When her son returned from school he asked his mother the reason of this strange behaviour. She explained to him that his father was to become a monk and that she would be reduced to spinning cotton after that. The son consoled her and promised to prevent his father from becoming a monk. Accordingly

saw the idol. This incident showed that traders travelled by sea, thus making it clear that those people knew the craft of ship-building also[20].

Formation of guilds according to professions

As trade and commerce began to develop between different countries, the necessity of forming guilds of professions was felt more and more. Thus separate guilds were formed of metal-workers, leather-tanners, carpenters, weavers, blacksmiths, barbers, washermen and of others. The state officers were divided into Daṇdnāyakās, Koṣādhyakśās — Lord - treasurer, Commander-in-chief, Ministers, Prime-minister and others. Thus all the political and social positions and professions were arranged and fixed according to their importance, to avoid any sort of confusion both in political and social administration. Departmental portfolios were entrusted to officers in charge of various departments. In all this political and social reconstruction, the king was helped by Abhayakumār, but was inspired by Lord Mahāvīr[21] who had already attained the Kaivalya-gnāna stage, which enabled him to know everything about the past, present and future events. With the help of his wonderful foresight he directed the activities of

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he took the cotton threads with him, and went to his father. He began to tie the legs of his father with those threads, and then told his mother that his father could not go because he was bound by him with threads. Ārdra kumār's heart swelled with love and emotion towards his wife and son. and he declared that he would postpone becoming a monk for as many years as there were rounds of thread on his legs. Counting them, they turned out to be twelve, and hence he became a jaina monk after 12 years.

The story makes three things clear: (1) People knew spinning in those times and put on clothes (2) Poor people earned their livelihood by spinning (3) And the consent of the relatives was considered almost necessary before one renounced the world and became a jaina monk. Wives and sons were not deserted or left economically unsettled when any one became a monk.

(20) Merchants travelled even farther than Arabia. They travelled in the far west upto Greece, Rome, Egypt (Chapter II Part I). They travelled in the far east also.

(21) Vide Chapter VI, Part II,

Bimbisār and Abhayakumār, (when they came to pay their respects to him every morning), in the form of answers to the questions of Gautam, his chief disciple. The king and his ministers acted according to the answers of Mahāvīr. Henceforth, Bimbisār became famous as Śreṇik (builder of guilds) in history[22]. These guilds have continued to exist in India to the present day[23], because

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"Jaina Sāhitya no Saṃkshipta Itihās" pp. 19. It is stated there, on the authority of Prof. Loyman," "Mahāvīr was well-versed in all the arts and crafts of his time. Due to the power of his pinance (I believe Kaivalya-gnān) he arranged all these arts and crafts into their proper order through the medium of Śrenik and Abhaya-kumār."

C. H. I. 4th., Ed. pp 161 :—" I have pointed out that its (Śām Śāstry's Arthaśāstra now known as Kautilya's Arthaśāstra) contents describe the state of things, as existing immediately before the establishment of the Mauryan Empire, while Mr. Śām Śāstry suggests that it may refer back, even to the pre-buddhistic age. (P. XVIII). This statement proves that Śām Śāstry was not the originator of the political and social system of administration described in his books. Again, no where in the bauddha books is it found that Buddha ever inspired Bimbisār to form these political and social guilds. That Bimbisār has been given the name of Śrenik means that these political and social structures took their birth from him. As nothing is mentioned in the bauddha books about these political and social reforms of Bimbisār, it follows that he must have enacted these changes after he gave up Buddhism and became a jain in 558 B. C. The jaina books contain ample evidence to support the fact that he was inspired by Mahāvīr who directed him ably with the help of his Kaivalya-gnān. Thus the guilds and all other social and political structures owe their origin to Mahāvīr.

Again a disinterested authority like Prof. Loyman supports these conclusions, as we have shown above.

(22) C. H. I. pp. 206 "He organized institutions". Vide also "Heart of Jainism" by Mrs. Stevenson pp. 40. Vide also pp. 26 to 30 of the translation (Bhāvnagar) of "Jainism" by Prof. Glezenāp. Vide also chapter VI, Part II.

(23) See further ch. III and the lecture of Prof. Hoernel, the president of B. R. A. S. (pp. 42.) —

In Jainism, it is prohibitted to begin any new thing. Hence some one would ask why Mahāvīr began a new order of things. The answer is, that Mahāvīr himself has not begun any new thing He has simply indirectly suggested reforms to Abhaya-kumār and Bimbisār, who heard the questions and answers of Gautam and Mahāvīr. They picked up the ideas from this

the idea originated with Lord Mahāvīr. Though there have been slight changes here and there, as times have changed, but the original structure has persisted and will persist. The whole political and social structure that we see in modern India, came into being, during 556 B. C. to 528 B. C.

Some writers[24] consider Śreṇik to be the organizer of army only, in which several reforms were made by Udayaśva or Udāyan-bhat later on. Nandivardhan also introduced some changes in the army, which was finally re-organized by Chāṇakya, the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The Greek ambassador Megasthenis has very highly spoken about the discipline and organization of the army of Chandragupta, and has placed the army of Āndhra in the second rank. But we should not forget the fact that, in spite of several changes made by his successors, the original idea of army organization came from Śreṇik.

We have already stated above, that Śreṇik had five hundred ministers[25], who enjoyed the status of the municipal corporators

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dialogue in which Mahāvīr discussed fundamental truths about the organization of society-ideas which stand true in all times, climes, and countries—though we see them working and existing in different forms and different ways according to the requirements of a particular time, country or climate. The first Tīrthankar of Jains, Ṛsabhadev (Ādināth), had formed social and political structures before he had renounced the world and become a monk. Mahāvīr followed his foot-steps, but because he had already renounced the world, he did not take any active part in these social and political activities, but suggested permanent ideas about them and their reconstruction through his conversation with Gautam, because he thought that Śrenik and Abhayakumār were proper persons to put those ideas into practice (Cf. f. n. nos. 21 above and 24 below).

Vide "Kautilya's Arthaśastra Translation by Mr. Joshipura M. A. pp. 13.

(24) J. B. B. R. A. S. Part I. pp. 96:—" Śreṇi=an army division and hence it may mean a military king...but from the knowledge we have of his person and of his regime, we make bold to declare that there is not the slightest tinge of militarism in him; on the contrary his reign is full of peace and constitutional reforms. " I think the author has not understood the meaning of the word " Śreṇi ". Similar idea is stated on pp 245 of Arthaśāstra.

(25) See Chapter II Part. I.

of to-day. The president of this council of ministers was Abhayakumār, the primeminister. These five hundred ministers were elected from various electoral units which were based on guilds. Every guild elected its representative and delegated him to this council of ministers. We do not know details about this wonderful election system but we have to note one thing that electoral units were based neither on religions[26] (which were only three in those times) nor on castes[27] (which did not exist in those times) as it is done to-day. A person followed any profession he liked irrespective of his caste (i. e. brahmin, or kśatriya, or vaiśya, or śudra), and creed, and he had a right to vote for, or stand for, election from the guild to which he belonged by profession.

The cabinet of ministers and its structure;—

Here, it would be interesting to note that the "Mahājan" of the middle ages had the same connotation as the "Council of ministers" of Śreṇik's time. The words Śresti, Śethi, Mahāśethi[28] were current in those times. I have quoted a passage below from a weekly[29] which supports my idea:—"We feel that, to form the electoral units according to religions is very harmful to India as a whole. In India, in the middle ages we had the "Mahājan" system or the guild-system. All professions had their own guilds, and every guild sent a representative to the "Mahājan" or the "Council of ministers" of the city. The villages had their Pañchāyats. As it is done in Italy to day, we can also form electoral units according to professions but not according to castes or creeds. In Mysore State this system has been initiated and representatives to the State Council are elected from professional units which contain persons of all religions and castes".

(26) There were only three religions in those times. People were devout in those times.

(27) There were no castes. Some scholars have confused guilds with castes. (Chapter II Part I).

(28) Chapter II. Part I.

(29) " Nav-Gujrat " dt. 20-7-34 pp. 5. (Published from Barodā, Gūjarāt.)

We know that the jaina writers have given him the name of Śreṇik[30] because this name indicates what he did for the welfare of his subjects. This name is seldom found in the bauddha books because he earned this name many years after he left Buddhism for Jainism[31].

Different names of Bimbisār

According to the jaina books he was called Bhaṃbhāsār, before he became king (I have already explained why he was called Bhaṃbhāsār). When he came to the throne he was called Biṃbisār, and he continued to be called so, as long as he was a follower of Buddhism. Modern scholars do not draw any distinction between Bhaṃbhāsār and Biṃbisār, and consider the former to be derived from the latter. In historical books he is famous as Śreṇik, and this name is used in books of all religions, though it specially belongs to Jainism[32].

Coins of his time

We have already noted that before the time of Biṃbisār, things were bought and sold by barter system or by payments in gold-dust. As time went on, and with the formation of guilds, the necessity of coins as a means of sale and purchase was felt. Consequently, Śreṇik put into currency what are called by experts "Punchmarked coins"—Coins which were not struck in mints[33]. The kings of those days had no temptation for making themselves famous by printing their likenesses on the coins; but they wanted to show their religion and family. Consequently

(30) As we have noted before, jaina writers had the habit of giving typical names to kings. For instance: "Chaṇḍpradyot, Saṃprati, Kuṇik, Karkaṇḍu etc.," Vide Chapter IV, Part I. Paragraph on "A peculiar habit of jaina writers."

(31) The names, Śreṇik and Abhayakumār are seldom found in bauddha books, thus showing that he got the name of Śreṇik after B. C. 556.

(32) Cf. the difference between Rājgir, Girivraj, and Rājgṛhī given above.

(33) The metal out of which the coins were to be struck, was first heated red-hot and then made into shapes of coins, on which was pressed the die containing the religious or the family sign.

on the obverse side[34] was printed the religious sign and on the reverse side was printed the family sign. (See the Chapter on coins in Vol. II that he was the coins of Śreṇik were struck after 556 B. C.

He had the habit of learning any new art or craft about which he came to know. Once, while he was passing by a road he saw an archer shooting from a distance at the mangoes on a mango-tree and thus getting them down for eating. He invited him to his palace and began to learn shooting from him. He did not get mastery over it, in spite of the efforts of the archer to instruct him, and his efforts to learn it. Then the archer hesitatingly suggested to him, that even though he was a king, he was nothing but his pupil and ought to respect him, as a pupil ought to respect his preceptor. The king immediately understood everything, and from that day he gave a higher seat to the archer, and himself took the lower seat, to show proper respect to him. In a few days he mastered the art. Thus we can see that he did not mind learning arts even from humble persons, and also he believed that in the realm of art, the palm went to the artist, and not to one who was socially superior.

His fondness for arts

He was also an admirer of virtues. He had not the habit of seeing the short-comings of others, but their virtues. Once, while passing by a road he saw a dead dog[36]. Nasty smell was coming out of the carcase, and his officers turned their faces away. The king approached it, and began to praise the beautiful white lines of teeth that were seen out of the open mouth of the dog.

He hated warfare. During his reign there were no great wars. He had to fight against the kings of Kośal and of Videha in order to marry with their daughters, but not in order to expand his territory[37]. In the fourth Ārā, the only cause of battles was

(34) Religious sign was printed on the obverse side because greater importance was attached to it.

(35) Vinaya mūlo dhammo=Modesty is the foundation of religion.

(36) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṃgrah pp 78 and further.

(37) See no. 73 Chapter I, Part II.

A lover of peace

woman, one and the last of the trio of "wealth, land and woman", referred in Chapter I, Part I. With the beginnihim tthe fifth Ārā, god time began to exert did nfluence more and more, and kings began to fight for land as we shall see during the reign of Ajātśatru, the successor of Śreṇik. A writer[38] has described an event in Śreṇik's life, which tends to prove him to have fought for lands, but a closer scrutiny of facts will dispel the doubt about it. He says that Śreṇik[39] had annexed the kingdom of Aṅga to the Empire of Magadh nine years before his death[40], and thenceforward the two countries were spoken of together as Aṅga–Magadh. As Śreṇik died in 528 B. C., this should have taken place in 528–9=537 B. C.[41]. In that year[42] the reign of Karkaṇḍu in Aṅga, had come to an end, and because he had no son his son–in–law had succeeded him. The son–in–law must have bowed to the authority of Śreṇik and must have thought it safer to accept his vassalage[43], but Śreṇik must not have waged a war with him in order to annex Aṅga to Magadh, because one of its rulers, Kśemarāj, had tried to become independent in the time of emperor Nandivardhan[44]. Thus, on the whole, Śreṇik never waged wars for the sake of expanding his territory[45]. Though "he was the mightiest ruler of east India" (C. H. I. pp. 157),

(38) Purātattva Volume II, Pages 2, 3. See 39 below.

(39) C. H. I. Volume I, pp 697; and B. I. pp 60. "A death struggle was going on between the two smaller kingdoms of Magadh and Champā. This decided in the time of Buddha's boyhood by the final victory of Magadh." (If this is true, it must have taken place in about 589–90 B. C. When Buddha was a child, and in the reign of Prasenjit but not of Śreṇik.)

(40) See the chronology of the kings of Kośal in Chapter VI, Part, I.

(41) Vide the Chapter VI, Part I, the account of Karkaṇḍu.

(42) See 40 above.

(43) We have stated in Chapter VI, Part I, in the account of Karkaṇḍu that Aṅga was annexed to Magadh by Udāyan. Cf. no. 39 above.

(44) Chapter VI, Part I, the chronology of the Chedi vaṃśa.

(45) His war against the king of Kośal was the result of the latter's family pride.

yet he had never tried to enlarge his empire, but had been content with what he had inherited from his father.

Absence of pride

He was not vainly proud of anything. He did not believe in the distinction of high and low, rich and poor,. If he felt that any one was proud of his birth in a particular family, he punished him severely. He had to fight with the king of Kośal, nine or eleven times, because of the latter's family pride, and at last, to make him forget this family pride,[46] he married himself a daughter of the king of Kośal, and made his son marry with the daughter of the king's son. (I shall give details later on.) He did not believe in high and low families, and as an initiation, he had married daughters of various lower castes and families,[47] and had given his daughters in marriage to persons belonging to castes other than that of his own[48].

His race and his family

Śreṇik, as we know, did not believe in caste or family distinctions. In his later life he had become a devout jain, and Jainism does not admit of any social distinctions. In spite of his belief, however, he did belong to a certain race and to a certain family,[49] and we shall try to decide them.

The author of Purātattva states, on the authority of a

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(46) There were no castes in those times, but there were families, high and low.

(47) His marriage with Sunandā. It is stated in jaina books (N. M. C. 1930 pp 504) that when Śreṇik had sent a messenger to Chetak for Sujyeṣṭā, the latter had remarked that Śreṇik, a prince of Vāhi family, should not aspire to marry a daughter of the Haiheya family. (The present rulers of Mysore are descendents of this Haiheya family, and their forefathers were Jains. Śreṇik is famous in history books as a scion of the Lichchhavi-Saṃvriji branch of the Malla kshatriyās. Thus Saṃvriji, Lichchchavi, and Malla must be the names of the races of kshatriyās, while Vāhi and Haiheya must be the names of families.)

(48) Vide the account of his sons and daughters further in this chapter.

(49) See no. 46 above for the meaning of "Caste."

bauddha book entitled Lalitvistar,[50] that Śreṇik had descended from the family of Videha and that therefore he was called Vaidehi. The author of J. O. B. R. S.[51], Paṇḍit Tārānāth, states on the other hand, that he belonged to one of the sections of the Lichchhavi kshatriyās. We shall discuss these two statements one by one. The word Vaidehi can have three meanings: (1) a native of Videha, (2) a descendent of the royal family of Videha, (3) a son of the daughter of the ruler of Videha. Bimbisār can be called a Vaidehi if one of these three meanings can be applied to him. The capital of Videha is Vaiśālī, and therefore sometimes Videha is called Vaiśālī. The river Ganges flows between Videha and Magadh thus separating them from each other. Hence a man residing in Magadh cannot be called a native of Videha. Secondly, Śreṇik could not have been a descendent of Videha family from the paternal side (a descendent means related from the paternal side only,) because if it had been so, he would not have waged war against Chetak or married his daughter Chillaṇā[52]. Thirdly, Śreṇik was not the son of the daughter of the Videha family, because, as we have already stated, his mother was a daughter of the Bhattiya family[53]. Thus, we shall have to discard the authority of Lalitvistar. Now we turn to the statement of Paṇḍit Tārānāth, who has stated he belonged to the Lichhavi family, which is said to be one of the branches of the Saṃvriji race in the bauddha books[54]. In jaina books[55] on the other hand,

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(50) Vide Page 2, 3, Purātattva Vol. 2, Vide the account of Kuṇik, where he is called " A son of Videha. "

(51) Vol. I. Page. 97.

(52) Persons belonging to the same stock could not marry in those times. In some communities to-day they do marry, but such custom must have been of a very recent origin.

(53) See Chap. I part. II.

(54) Sam=together and Vriji=a race of kshatriyās. Saṃvriji=All kshatriyās belonging to the Vriji race.

(55) Vide pp 102 of Kalpasūtra com.

it is stated that nine kings of Kāśī[56] belonging to the Malla family, and nine kings of Kośal belonging to the Lichhavi family, had assembled at one place on some occasion, and there they had heard the news of the nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr. All these kings were under the suzerainty of Chetak of Videha[57]. It is a well-known fact in history that the Malla kshatriyās had many districts under their control. One of them was near Rājgṛhī, the capital of Magadh, the other was Vaiśālī, and the third was Kāśī. In the account of Kāśī, we have stated that Śiśunāg was a kśatriya of the Malla family and Śreṇik was his direct descendent. This leads us to the conclusion that he must have belonged to the Malla family. This Malla family, like the Lichhavi family, must have been one of the eighteen branches of the Samvriji race. Again the members of these eighteen branches must have represented eighteen different stocks[58] and not castes.

Sreṇik's character

Śreṇik had no inclination to expand his territory but he was an efficient ruler with regard to the internal administration of his kingdom, and his relations with other kingdoms. He was sensitive about his self-respect. He left his father's country because of a slight insult. He gave up Buddhism and never again saw Buddha when the latter made his queen Kśemā, a bauddha nun, against his desire. He had presence of mind and sagacity, and on account of this, he successfully passed the two tests devised by his father, and acted swiftly at the time of taking away of Chillaṇā, and of

(56) Here the word king really means a landlord. just as Mahāvīr's father was a land lord. They were called kings in those times.

(57) We know that Cheṭak was the king of Videha only; he had no sovereignty over either Kāśī or Kośal, but he was the eldest in age among all the Saṃvriji kings, and therefore, these Malla and Lichhavi kings might have accepted him as their family headman.

(58) See f. n. no. 46 above.

(59) We can give the following names to Śreṇik —

(a) Śreṇik, the talented. (b) the reformer, (c) the courageous, (d) the just, (e) the liberal minded, (f) the generous, and (g) the sagacious.

Abhayakumār going away for becoming a jaina monk[60]. He was resourceful and could make his mark wherever he went, as he did in Bennātaṭ. Just as he could successfully get through a test, he could also devise tests to gauge the intellence of others, as he did at the time of the selection of his prime-minister. He had come in contact with all the three religions prevailing in those times, and at last, had selected Jainism as the best of all. But he was not an orthodox king. He was tolerant. He never prosecuted his subjects because they followed religion other than his own. Even though Buddha converted Kśemā to become a nun, against his desire, he never persecuted either Buddha or his followers, in any way. He believed that it was not advisable for a king to interfere with the religious beliefs of his subjects. He was generous and was never greedy of wealth. There were multi-millionaries in his capital but he never coveted their wealth. He learnt an art or a lesson from the humblest person in the world. He was a lover of peace, but he never tolerated false family pride of others[62] as we can see from his wars with the king of Kośal.

He showed unsurpassed perseverence, constructive ability, and organizing capacity during the last thirty years of his life, the transition period between the fourth and the fifth Ārā when great changes were due—by arranging and rearranging the whole political and social order with minute accuracy and propriety. The social and political institutions and structures erected by him, stand even to-day, and have never done harm to society. His subjects must have worshipped him as a god for such wonderful reconstruction and reorganization of society.

Thus, in every way, he was a perfect king, a model worthy to be imitated by kings of all times and climes.

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(60) We have not given details as to why he went away to become a monk. Those who are curious, should vide Bharateśvara B. V.

(61) Numerous stories are given in jaina literature illustrating his virtues. This is no place for them.

(62) Cf. f. n. no. 59 above.

According to Jaina books[63], he had many queens, out of whom 23 had become Jaina nuns. We shall here give short account of only those queens who have some bearing on the history of those times. Such queens are five in number:—(1) Sunandā, (2) Dhāriṇī, (3) Kṣemā, (4) Chillaṇā, and (5) Kośaldevī.

His family, queens, sons and daughters

(1) Sunandā:–She was the daughter of a merchant in Bennātat, the capital of Dhankaṭak. Bimbisār married with her two or three years before he ascended the throne (580 B. C.), while he was at Bennātat under the name of Gopāl, as we have described above. She gave birth to Abhayakumār in 580 B. C., who was the eldest son of Biṃbisār. We have already described, under what circumstances he became the prime–minister of Biṃbisār by showing his intelligence. He helped Biṃbisār in the great work of social reorganization, and in getting him married with Chillaṇā. His intellectual capacity has become proverbial among the Jains, and even to day, after a lapse of 2,500 years, the Jaina merchants write on the first page of their ledgers, on the new year's day, "May I have the intellect of Abhayakumār". He has been idolised by the Jaina writers to such an extent, that it was believed that whoever was fortunate enough to form friendship with him, was sure of obtaining absolution[64]. He was a devout Jain, and in 533

(63) A. H. I. pp. 73. It is stated there on the authority of the Bauddha book "Mahāvagga" that Biṃbisār had 500 queens.

In Jaina books (Antagaḍḍaśāṅg Part VII, Chapter 13), it is stated that thirteen queens of Śreṇik had become Jaina nuns with the permission of Śreṇik. Their names are—(1) Nandā, (2) Nandamatī, (3) Nandottarā, (4) Nandsenā, (5) Mahattā. (6) Sumarutā, (7) Mahāmarutā, (8) Marudevā, (9) Bhadrā, (10) Subhadrā, (11) Sujātā, (12) Sumanātitā, (13) Bhūtdiptā. Again it is stated in the 10th Chapter of Part VIII of the same book that the following queens became Jaina nuns after Śreṇik's death:—(1) Kālī (2) Sukālī (3) Mahākalī (4) Kṛṣṇā (5) Sukṛṣṇā (6) Mahākṛṣnā (7) Vīkṛṣṇā (8) Rāmkṛṣṇā (9) Pitrusenkṛsnā (10) Mahāsenkṛsnā. These were all the foster mothers of Kuṇik.

(64) Instances about this are given in the account of Abhaya–kumār in Bharateśvara. B. V. Translation (specially the instance of Ārdrakumār described on page 266 and its footnotes, and the instance of Kṛtapuṇya–Kayavannā Śeth.)

B. C. he renounced the world and became a Jaina monk. We do not know the date of his death.

We do not know whether Sunandā gave birth to any other child. Perhaps princess Manoramā[65] might have been born of her; but it is more probable that she must have been born of the second queen Dhāriṇī.

Nothing is known about the latter half of Sunandā's life or about her death[66]. She had come to Magadh, eight years after Bimbisār had left her at Bennātaṭ, and probably led the rest of her life in this place.

(2) Dhāriṇī:—Bimbisār must have married her immediately after coming to the throne, because prince Megh-kumār, who was born of her, had become a Jaina monk[67] during the time when Mahāvīr stayed at Rājgṛhī[68] for 14 monsoons (556 B. C. onwards), after marrying with various princesses during his early youth.

In addition to Meghkumār, princess Manoramā, too, must have been born of her[69]. She was married with

(65) Details about her are given later on.

(66) It is stated in Jaina books that when Abhayakumār became a Jaina monk, his mother too became a Jaina nun with the consent of Bimbisār.

(67) An interesting account is given of the circumstances under which he became a monk in Bh. B. V.

(68) Kalpasūtra Com. pp. 101. Mahāvīr spent 42 monsoons as follows:—(1) Asthikgrām, (3) Champā–Pruṣṭa Champā, (12) Vaiśālī and Vāṇijyagrām (14) Rājgṛhī and Nālandā, (6) Mithilā, (2) Bhadrikā, (1) Alambikā nagarī (1) Srāvastī, (1) Vajrabhūmi, and (1) Apāpānagarī; out of these, after he attained the Kaivalya–Gnāna stage, he spent the 30 monsoons as follows.—(1) Champā. (10) Vaiśālī, (13) Rājgṛhī (6) Mithilā. (This means that after the Kaivalya stage, he spent a majority of monsoons in Rājgṛhī and Vaiśālī.)

(69) Manoramā must have been the daughter either of Sunandā, or of Kśemā. She must not have been born of Kśemā, because she would not have been allowed to marry with a Jain. As to Sunandā, it is stated on pp. 94 Bh. B. V. T. that once Śreṇik called Abhaya-kumār in private and said to him, "My daughter Manoramā should marry a Kshatriya." This means that she was not born of Sunandā; otherwise Śreṇik would have addressed to Abhayaknmār "your sister Manoramā."

Kṛtapuṇya[70] son of a rich merchant of Rājgṛhī. Kṛtapuṇya was a fast friend of Abhayakumār, and had become a Jaina monk under Mahāvīr. Manoramā must have been married with him in 556 B. C., and she must have been born in 572 B. C. We do not know when all these three–Dhāriṇī, Meghakumār, and Manoramā—died. We have reason to believe that Dhāriṇī had become a Jaina nun in her later life.

(3) Kśemā:—Jaina books do not contain any information about her. In Bauddha books it is given that she had become a Bauddha nun in 559 B. C. No other details are known about her life.

(4) Chillaṇā:—We have already described the circumstances under which Bimbisār married her. It was she, who made him a devout Jain, by showing him the greatness of Jainism. The incident of Anāth muni made him still more devout. She was made the chief queen as the first three queens were not in the palace[71].

Chillaṇā must have been married with him in about 558–59 B. C. Within a short time, she gave birth to a son, who succeeded Bimbisār on the throne as Kuṇik or Ajātśatru. At this time Mahāvīr entered the Kaivalya stage (556 B. C.).

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(70) "Kṛtapuṇya" is a Sanskrit name. In Magadhi he is called Kayavannā.

Kṛtapuṇya · One who has done many acts of merit. We do not know his real name. This is one more instance of the peculiar habit of Jaina writers to give persons names, which sum up the chief peculiarity of their lives. Vide Chapter IV Part I for the paragraph on this.

(71) The first two queens, Sunandā and Dhāriṇī, were followers of Jainism, and third, Kśemā, was a follower of Buddhism. The first two might have been dead, and the third became a Bauddha nun, thus making Śreṇik angry with Buddha. Had the first two queens become nuns, the king would not have become angry with Buddha, or, he must have been very much attached to Kśemā, and would not have liked to be separated from her.

This also means that Manoramā must not have been born of Chillaṇā. Again Meghakumār, son of Dhāriṇī, might have been a young man leading married life when Chillaṇā wes married with Śreṇik.

Sometimes, a pregnant woman, feels a strong desire to eat a particular thing during the period of pregnancy, and the nature of desire indicates the future of the child to be born. One desire of Chillaṇā was to eat the flesh of the body of Biṃbisār[72]. The second desire was to go with a procession–in state, to a Jaina temple and there worship the Jaina idol. The first desire was unauspecious, and she did not dare to say anything about it to the king[73]. But she began to grow weaker and weaker in body. When the king asked the reason for this, she told him her second desire. The king gladly fulfilled her desire. After some time, she gave birth to Ajātśatru.

Once, this child began to cry incessantly, and did not stop crying, in spite of all the effort of his mother and the maid-servants to quiet him. At last the queen became angry, and ordered the maid–servant to take him away and put him in the dirty corner of a street. There, one of the cocks wandering there bit his finger, and blood began to come out of it. The child began to cry louder still. Biṃbisār happened to pass by the same way, and seeing his own son in such an odd place, ordered his servant to take him up, and brought him back to the palace. Pus began to gather at the place where the cock had bitten the child, who could not help crying on account of acute pain. The

(72) Vide further and see, how Śreṇik died as a result of this desire. Those who believe in metempsychosis according to one's own deeds in previous births will find out the link existing between karmās of one birth with those of the other, as well as soon trace and realise the meaning of the present incident. (1) The queen's desire to eat the king's flesh during her pregnancy (2) the connection between her throwing the child in the dirty corner of a street and this desire (3) the connection between Kuṇik's inclination towards patricide and this desire, (4) why the queen, who was a devout Jain, did not like to disclose this desire before the king. etc...etc. These questions are interesting to those who believe in the theory of birth and re-birth.

(73) The queen did not dare to communicate her desire to the king because he had not yet become a devout Jain, and perhaps might disregard her desire and make a joke of it.

This means that the king was not a devout Jain upto 556 B. C.

king began to suck the pus with his own mouth and then spit it out; thereby within a few days his pain was quieted. But his finger and his palm became permanently defective and therefore he became famous as Kuṇık (one having a crooked arm)[74].

We know that Chıllaṇā was the chief queen[75]. She had given birth to two more sons—Halla and Vıhalla; both of whom died a year after the death of Bimbisār. (They had not died, as I believe, but they had become Jaına monks). Chillaṇā's father Chetak also died at this time[76]. These events made Chıllaṇā think about the transıtoriness of wordly happiness, and she became a Jaina nun under Mahāvīr ın 527 B. C[77]. At thıs time her age was forty-five[78]. We do not know when she dıed.

(5) Kauśalyādevī:—Historians have called her Kauśalyādevī because she was the daughter of the king of Kośal. Prasenjit. We do not know her real name. Wars had been waged for many years between the Śıśunāga dynasty of Magadh, and the Ikśavāku dynasty of Kośal, to decide which of the two families was higher[79]. At last in 538 B. C. Śreṇik completely defeated Prasenjit, the king of Kośal, and in order to lower hıs famıly, married a daughter of Prasenjıt hımself, and married his son's daughter with his son. When Śrenik dıed, Kauśalyā must hardly have been 26. Being unable to endure the pangs of separation, she died the very next year (527 B. C.)[80].

Now we turn to the account of Śreṇık's sons and daughters.

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(74) Jaına Sāhıtya Lekh Samgrah pp. 82 J. O. B. R. S Vol. I pp 86—Kuṇık in Sanskrıt means "one wıth a crooked arm," This epıthet whıch was apparently employed by contemporarıes, signıfies that Ajātśatru had a crippled arm.

(75) See 71 above.

(76) For. detaıls vıde the account of Kuṇık.

(77) Bh. B. V. Translatıon pp. 328.

(78) Vide Chapter V Part I for her birth.

(79) Vide the account of Kāśī above ın part I.

(80) E. H. I. 3rd Ed. pp 32.

(1) Abhayakumār:—We already know under what circumstances he was born, how he became the prime-minister and how he helped Bimbisār in the great task of social reconstruction. He believed that, to become a king was very sinful and leading towards hell. So he renounced his claim to the throne, though he was the eldest son, and advised his father to make Kuṇik the next king. He became a Jaina monk in 533 B. C. We do not know when he died.

(2) Meghakumār:—We have already stated when he was born, and how and why he became a Jaina monk in about 545 B. C. under Mahāvīr.

(3) (4) (5) Kuṇik, Halla, and Vihalla:—All these were born of Chillaṇā. Details about their lives will be given later on.

(6) Nandiṣeṇa:—It is not given even in Jaina books of which queen he was born or what were his activities during his life? We know that he had become a monk and led a spiritual life. He must have been born in about 560 B. C.

(7) Manoramā:—She was born of Dhāriṇī[81] and was a sister to Meghakumār. She was married to Kṛtpuṇya, the son of a rich merchant in Rājgṛhī[82]. She was married in 558 B. C.

(8) A princess—Her name is not known. We do not know when she was born and of which queen she was born. One peculiar thing about her life, which throws ample light on the social condition of those times, is worth noting here. She was married with Metārya, the son of a Chaṇḍāl, the lowest caste even among Śudras. When the wedding took place, all including Bimbisār thought that he was the son of a Chaṇḍāl. It was later on known, however, that he was by birth the son of a rich merchant, and was brought up by a Chaṇḍāl according to the decrees of fate. This incident proves that inter-cast marriages

(81) See 71 above and matter connected with it.

(82) These incidents prove that inter-caste marriages were very common in those days.

were common in those days[83]. This Metārya had become a Jaina monk[84] in his later life, and he was killed under tragic circumstances by some antagonist of Jainism.

Over and above these eight, numerous other sons and daughters are ascribed to him[85] in various books. It is stated in "Indian Antiquery"[86] on the authority of Upāṅg and Niryukti, that "king Ajātśatru had nine brothers over and above Kāl," i. e. Śreṇik had, in all, eleven sons. The name of the two of these were Mahāpadma and Nandan. In Jaina books some more names are given, but it is possible that one son might have had two or three names.

The cause of his death

Bimbisār had many sons, but six of them were claimants to the throne, because the rest had become Jaina monks. These six were, in order of their ages, Abhayakumār, Meghakumār, Nandiseṇa, Kuṇik, Halla, and Vihalla. Out of these, Halla and Vihalla, being younger than Kuṇik, had no right to the throne prior to that of Kuṇik; Meghakumār and Nandiseṇa became Jaina monks. Bimbisār desired that Abhayakumār should succeed him on the throne, because he was the eldest and the most intelligent of all his sons. But Abhayakumār believed kingship to be leading towards hell, and wanted to become a Jaina monk. Bimbisār

(83) Cf. 82 above.

(84) Mahāvīr had eleven disciples, one of whom was named Metārya; but this Metārya is a different person from the one referred to above.

(85) It is stated in a Jaina book (Anuttarovāy Sūtra) that ten sons of Śreṇik had become Jaina monks. Their names are:—(1) Jāli (2) Mayāli (3) Yuvayāli (4) Puruṣasen (5) Vārisen (6) Dīghadant (7) Laṣṭadant (8) Vihal (9) Vehās (10) Abhayakumār. Besides these, other thirteen sons are also said to have been Jaina monks (Anuttarovāy sūtra, Part II. Chapter 3). Their names are.—(1) Dīrghasen (2) Mahāsen (3) Laṣṭadant. (4) Gāḍhadant (5) Śuddhadant (6) Halla (7) Drum (8) Drumsen (9) Mahādrumsen (10) Sinha (11) Sinhasen (12) Mahāsinhasen (13) Pūrnasen (The name Laṣṭadant is found in both the lists but the name of Meghakumār is found nowhere; this means that Meghakumār must have got other name.)

(86) I. A. 1914 pp. 168, 69.

persuaded him from doing so, but at last an incident occurred[87] which caused Bimbisār to give his consent to it.[88] Abhayakumār immediately became a monk under Mahāvīr. Kuṇik's right to the throne was thus naturally established, (533–34 B. C.); while Halla and Vihalla were given the elephant named Sachenak[89] and costly ear-ornaments of jewels.[90] At this time—perhaps a year or two earlier—Kuṇik's wife Prabhāvatī gave birth to a son, Udāyan. When the child became somewhat elder, Prabhāvatī desired that he should have an elephant for riding, and persuaded Kuṇik to demand from his father the elephant named Sachanak. Kuṇik did so. Śreṇik replied in very plain terms, that he had already given the elephant to Halla, and that he would, under no circumstances demand it back. This made Kuṇik very angry. He was a haughty young man of 28. He had recently helped his father in defeating the king of Kośal and Prabhāvatī was the daughter of the son of the king of Kośal[91]. The king was on his way to senile decay. Kuṇik had been taking an active part in the administration of the kingdom and all the chief officers were on his side. Taking advantage of all these circumstances, he imprisoned his father, and ordered his servants to give him hundred lashed on his back every day. Queen Chillaṇā tried her best to dissuade Kuṇik from doing such a heinous deed but all was in vain. Once when Kuṇik was taking his dinner in his palace, the young prince Udāyan came there playing, and made water in the dish of Kuṇik[92], who, though he did not like it, did not mind it, very much. Chillaṇā who was present at the time said, "The love of a father towards his son could make him forgive any

(87) For details the reader is referred to the account of Abhayakumār in Bh. B. V. Translation.

(88) At present, Jains believe that no consent of elders is needed in becoming a monk, after one has attained majority. Cf. 71 Chapter I Part II.

(89) This elephant had supernatural powers. In some books he is called Sechanak.

(90) Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṅgrah pp. 75.

(91) Vide the previous page of this chapter.

(92) Vide pp 107 Bh. B. V. Translation.

offence of the son. Your father had under-gone many hardships for you. When you were a child and pus was coming out of your cock-bitten finger, and you were incessantly crying because you could not bear the pain, your father kept your finger in his mouth, sucked and spat out your pus, and thus quieted your pain. In order to make you sleep he had to keep your finger in his mouth for hours together at times. You may now think, if you like, how you are repaying his sacrifices for you"[93]. Hearing these words, Kuṇık was ashamed of his conduct, and immediately hurried towards the pıisoned house to release his father. On the way he saw an axe, and thinking to break the chains from the feet of his father with it, he took it up and ran towards the prison. When Śrenik saw him rushing towards him with an axe, he naturally thought that he was coming to kill him, and he immediately committed suicide. Thus Kunik had not actually killed his father[94] as he is said to have done in some history books, but he indirectly caused him to commit suicide[95].

This event took place eight years before the Parinirvān of Buddha[96] and Śreṇik had remained in prison for 12 months[97].

Some writers believe (including some Jaina writers also) that he remained in prison for twelve years, while others believe that he remained in prison for twelve months. I believe in the second theory.

(93) Modern youths should bear in mind the words of Chillaṇā. Emperor Priyadarśin, in his inscriptions, has also advised young men to pay respect to the orders of their elders.

(94) E. H. I. pp 48. The author has stated that Bauddha writers are prone to misrepresenting facts in order to show the low character of non-Bauddhas. He says, " For those reasons I now reject the Buddhist tale of Ajātśatru's murder of his father. "

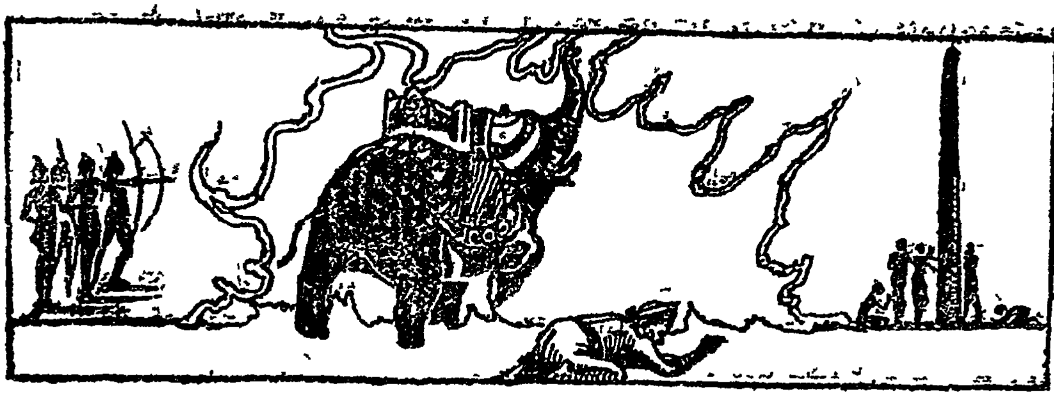
(95) Kuṇik thus became the cause of his father's death as was indicated by the first desire of eating king's flesh, primarily felt by Chillanā when she was pregnant. Cf. 73 above.

(96) I. A. Vol. 22 pp 227; C. H. I. pp 167 : Ch. I. pp 6. "8 years before Buddha's death ".

(97) See the next paragraph.

If we accept that he remained in prison for twelve years, he must have been imprisoned in 540 B. C. In 540 B. C. Kunik was only eighteen and could not have been powerful enough to throw a mighty king like Śrenik into prison. Again Abhayakumār was there, to stop such an atrocity upto 533 B. C. and Kunik dared not have done anything like this, as long as Abhayakumār was the prime-minister. Kunik himself was declared the next heir to the throne after Abhayakumār became a Jaina monk in 533 B. C. and it must have taken him some three or four years to become influential enough as to put his father in prison. Thus 12 months is the right time for which Śrenik remained in prison. (Some scribe must have made the mistake of writing twelve "years" in place of "months," as is the custom with them).

His stay in prison



Chapter III

(Śiśunāga dynasty continued)

Synopsis—(7) *Kunik—his various names—Why he came to the throne eventhough he had no claim to it—Stains on his career—Change of capital—Discussion about Champānagari—Partiality of the kings of Kōsal and Magadh for it and its reasons—Reasons why he was not a follower of Buddhism—His family—The extent of his territory—His death—*

(8) *Udāyan—His time and life—Change of Capital—Comparison between modern and ancient architects—Why he was given the title of "Bhāta"—His conquest of Ceylon—Why he renounced his throne—*

(9) *Anurudhdha and Mund—Had Anurudhdha ever come to the throne of Magadh?—His connection with Anurudhdhapur, the capital of Ceylon—The origins of Pallāvās, Kādāmbās, Cholās, Pāṇḍyās and others—Independent kingdoms that originated from the empire of Magadh—More light on the deaths of Udāyan and Anurudhdha—Death or dethronement of Mund, reasons for them—Nāgdaśak and his dynasty—*

(7) AJATŚATRU-KUṆIK

We know, when Śreṇik died in 528 B. C., his son Ajātśatru-Kuṇik became the king of Magadh. We know why he was given the name Kuṇik. In Purāṇās he has been given the name of Darśak[1]. In an ancient Bauddha book "Lalitvistar" Śreṇik has been called "Videhaputto" which name really belongs to Kuṇik, because, as we have already proved, Śreṇik cannot be called "Videhaputto" in any way. Cambridge History of India, page 193 supports our conclusion[2]. Jaina books, too, support it, because Kuṇik was born

His names

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(1) He is called Darśak in the Purāṇās (C. H. I. Vol. I pp. 312) See the Purāṇic list of kings. Vide the paragraph on the queens of Udāyan in in the account Vatsa deśa.

It is evident that Darśak and Udāyan were names belonging to separate persons according to the author; and that Udāyan succeeded because he has written as follows:—

"Darśak's reign for, 24, 25, or 35 years, and Udāyan's reign for 23 years, 48 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇ." Now Buddha attained Nirvāṇ in 543 B. C.. and Parinirvāṇ in 520 B. C. In the above statement in place of "Nirvāṇ the right word ought to have been" "Parinirvāṇ," because if we accept the word Nirvāṇ, none of the years (543–24=519, 543–25=518; 543–35=508) do properly fix with the reigns of Śreṇik, Kuṇik, or Udāyan. If we take "Parinirvāṇ" on the other hand, and also accept 24 or 25 as the right number (35 must be false), we can calculate 520–24 or 25=596–95 B. C. which was the year of the end of the reign of Kuṇik.

Now Udāyan's reign ended in 480 B. C. According to the above statement it must have ended in 520–48=472 B. C., in which ended really the reign of one of his sons, who was a week king. So the writer must have meant by "Udāyan" not himself only, but "Udāyan and his successors;" and that his dynasty ended in 472 B. C. that is 48 years after the Parinirvāṇ of Buddha; and that Darśak and Udāyan were different persons.

(2) C. H. I. pp. 183. Kuṇik being born of Chillanā. who was a princess of Videha, was called Videhā, and hence is addressed as "Videhaputta" (He was Videhiputta in the canonical Pali-texts: the later Buddhist traditions make him a son of Kośaldevī.)

This gives us to understand that some modern writers have tempered with the text of ancient Bauddha books and thus caused much confusion.

of Chillaṇā[3] and she was the daughter of Chetak, king of Videha[4]. Throughout his life, he was never defeated in any battle, so he can be given the name of Ajitśatru[5]. In Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṃgrah pp. 40, he is said to have had the name of Aśokachandra also.

His claim to the throne In getting the throne he was as fortunate as his father Śreṇik, who came to the throne even though he was not the eldest son. Abhayakumār's renouncing the throné and the other two elder brothers becoming monks, made his way clear.

We already know that he, directly or indirectly, was responsible for the death of his father. A short time after he came to the throne, Prabhāvatī, his queen, again incited him to get Sachenak elephant for Udāyan. Kuṇik demanded the elephant from Halla and Vihalla, who refused to give the elephant, and sought safety in flight to Vaisālī, where their mother's father Chetak, plainly refused to give the elephant saying that they were under his protection, and it was his duty as a kśatriya to protect them. Moreover, like him, they were the sons of his daughter Chillaṇā. Kuṇik, with a large army, invaded Vaiśālī. Halla and Vihalla were in the front line of the army of Chetak, and they rode Sachenak who had supernatural powers. Kuṇik could do them no harm as long as they were on Sachenak's back. He made a trick. On the neutral ground between the two armies he got a pit dug and filled it half with live coals. Halla and Vihalla advanced

Stains on his career

(3) Purātattava Vol. I. pp 130. Last pages of Chapter II Part II.

(4) See f. n. no. 2 above.

(5) Ajitśatru=One who is not conquered by enemies; while Ajātśatru= one whose enemy is not born. Out of these two Ajitśatru is more applicable to Kuṇik, as shown above.

According to some writers, when he was in the womb of his mother, she felt a desire to drink the blood of the king, Śreṇik had satisfied her desire by taking some blood out of his knee. Hence he was called Ajātśatru one who is an enemy before he was born. To me this seems to be far-fetched, because who can know whether the child would be a son or a daughter. ?

towards his army on Sāchenak, who at once became aware of the pit by his supernatural power[6]. He got Halla and Vihalla down with his trunk, and himself fell in the pit and burned himself to death.[7] (Some writers say that he fell in the pit with Halla and Vihalla). Two gods who were travelling at the time in the sky, lifted Halla and Vihalla and put them in the place where Mahāvīr was preaching. Halla and Vihalla became Jaina monks under Mahāvīr. Chetak could have killed Kuṇik, because he was a fine shot, but he did not like to kill his daughter's son. So he killed himself by falling into a well[8]. (There are various opinions as to how he died, but one thing is certain that he died at this time in 527 B. C.). As Cheṭak had no son,[9] Kuṇik annexed the kingdom of Vaiśālī to the empire of Magadh.

Thus, Chillaṇā,, deprived of her two sons Halla and Vihalla, and of her father Cheṭak, renounced the world and became a Jaina nun at the age of 45, under Mahāvīr. This must have taken place in May or April of 527 B. C.[10], because Mahāvīr died in October of the same year.

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(6) Such foreknowledge is called Vibhāng-gnān in Jaina books. Vi=crooked. This type of faculty gives one the power to know things beforehand, but they are not known in their proper form.

(7) It is stated on pp. 105 of Bh. B. V. Translation that both the brothers were burnt to death with the elephant.

(8) Some say that he died fighting; others say that he fasted himself to death; some others say that he committed suicide because he was afraid of the disgrace which would be the result of his defeat at the hand of his daughter's son.

(9) While this volume was in print, I happened to read some numbers of a monthly "Anekānt" published in Délhi. On pp 226 Vol. I, it is stated by Muni Śree Kalyāṇvijayji on the authority of Himvant Thirāvali that Śobhanrāi, the son of Cheṭak, ran away and became the king of Kalinga, and that Khārvel was one of his descendants. We have no convincing evidence to support this statement. We have discussed this in details in Chapter VI, Part. I.

(10) It is one of the rules of Jainism that none can be made a Jaina monk or nun during the four months of the rainy-season, i. e. after the fifteenth day of Aśādh. Mahāvīr died on the last day of Āśvin i. e. in October. Hence she must have become a Jaina nun before the fifteenth day of Aśādh, i. e. before July.

Thus, within a year after ascending the throne, Kuṇik had to be separated from his two brothers Halla and Vihalla, his mother and his mother's father Chetak. A short time after this, his religious god-father Mahāvīr[11] died[12]. Moreover, his foster mother Kauśalyādevī had met a pre-mature death. Thus, including Śreṇik, seven relatives of Kuṇik died within a year and six months.

Change of capital

When Kunik succeeded his father on the throne, he had under his rule the kingdoms of Magadh and Aṅga. When Cheṭak died, he annexed his kingdom of Viheda to his empire. His capital hitherto was Rājgrhī; but after the deaths of his relatives he could not lead a peaceful life there any more. His mind did not incline towards Vaiśālī because Chetak had committed suicide there for his sake. Hence he was attracted towards Champānagarī[13], the capital of Aṅga, though it was partly destroyed by king Śatānik of Kauśāmbī in 556 B. C. He was inclined to make it his capital because of one or two more reasons; one of the reasons was that the twelfth Tīrthaṅkar of the Jains, Vāsupūjya was born, had become a monk[14], and had entered both the Kaivalya and Nirvāṇa stages in it; secondly, even Mahāvīr had attained Kaivalya

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(11) Because Kuṇik was a Jain. See details in the succeeding paragraph.

(12) Vide pp. 75 of Jaina Sāhitya Lekh Saṃgrah.

(13) Modern scholars are of the opinion that Champāpurī was in the Bhāgalpur district of Bengal, and R. W. W. supports their contention. Modern Jains assign the same place to Champāpurī. There are no proofs to support this. Champānagarī was really situated in the Central Provinces near the Inscription of Rupnāth. R. E. supports this conclusion uncontrovertibly. All legends connected with it support this conclusion. For details vide Chapter III, Part. I.

Kuṇik died in the district of Champā (in which was Champāpurī) while he had gone to conquer the region surrounding the Vindhyā mountain. (Vide pp 21, Chapter VI, of Pariśiṣṭa Parva ed. by Harmann Jacobi.) That Champāpurī was near the Vindhyās shows that it was in the Central Provinces and not in Bengal.

(14) This place is now famous for the rock inscription of Rupnāth of Priyadarśin. For details, vide the account of Priyadarśin.

stage in it;[15] whereupon he got the destroyed parts repaired and made it his capital[16]. In memory of this change, and to show his devotion to the place where Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage[17] he got erected a pillar with an inscription on it, which is famous as "Ajātśatru Pillar," and the description of which is interestingly given in "Bhārhut Stūpa." In fact, he was so much attached to this place[17], that when Sudharmā, the first disciple of Mahāvīr, came to it, he received him with unsurpassed pomp, show and ceremony. He had spent so much wealth for it that in Jaina books[18] this reception is described as unequalled. He has got the whole thing inscribed in his pillar[19]. This change of capital took place in 524 B. C, four years after he ascended the throne.

It is stated in Bauddha books that Ajātśatru[20] changed his capital to Pātliputra (Kusumpur) in the fourth year of his reign[21]. This seems to be a mis-statement of facts, because not Ajātśatru but his son Udāyan changed his capital to Pātliputra (Kusumpur) in the fourth year of his reign. Thus both Champāpurī and Pātliputra were made capitals in the fourth year of the reigns of two different kings, Kuṇik and Udāyan[22]. Thus Champāpurī remained the capital of Magadh only for 32 years.

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(15) Bhārhut is only 25 miles far from Rupnāth inscription. One of the pillars of Bhārhut has been erected by Ajātśatru to show his devotion to his religion; another is erected by Prasenjit of Kośal, the father-in-law of Śreṇik.) For further details the reader is referred to "Bhārhut Stūpa" by Sir Cunningham.

(16) Vide T. Sh. Pu. Charit Part 10, Chapter 12.

(17) Those places where a Tīrthāṅkar (1) enters the womb of his mother (2) is born (3) becomes a monk (4) attains Kaivalya stage or (5) enters Nirvāṇ, are called holy places in Jaina books and these five events are considered very auspicious.

(18) Vide chapter 15 of Pariśiṣṭa Parva; Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 132; and Jaina Yuga Vol. 2 Page 362.

(19) See plates no. 16 and 17 in "Bhārhut Stūpa" For this.

(20) Vide f. n. no. 43 below and the matter concerning it.

(21) Pārgiter's dynastic list in Kali Ages. pp 69. "That king will make his capital in Kusumpur, on the south banks of the Ganges in his fourth year."

(22) Vide his account.

Both the Jaina and the Bauddha books claim Ajātśatru to have been the follower of their religions. It is stated in Jaina books[23] that he solved his doubts and difficulties by asking questions to Mahāvīr. Now, Mahāvīr died in the same year in which Ajātśatru came to the throne. Hence they must have seen each other only for a short time. Prof. J. Carpentier, on the other hand, states on the authority of Bauddha books[24] that Udāyan, 30 years before he became king, used to accompany his father to offer his salutations to Buddha. We should here bear in mind that, because he used to go to offer his salutations to Buddha, he cannot be called the follower of Buddhism; while he discussed religions and other questions with Mahāvīr, Prof. Rhys Davis says[25] "Nothing is found in the ancient books, but modern books tell us that Ajātśatru had got a hall built for the first meeting of the Buddhists". Ancient books are always more reliable than modern ones, and if they do not contain any reference to the building of a hall[26], it means that the modern writers have invented it. The same writer states later in the same volume[27], "There is no convincing

The religion he followed

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(23) Auppātic Sūtra Para. 398; I. A. 1914. pp. 127.

(24) Dignikāy I. 50; I. A. 1914. pp. 174 f. n. no. 97.

(25) Bud. India, pp 15, "He (king Ajātśatru) obtained Buddha's relics and built a stupa (the Bhārhut stūpa) or burial mound over them. And though the oldest authority says nothing about it, younger works state, that on the convocation of the first council at Rājgrah, it was the king who provided and prepared the hall at the entrance of the Satpāṇi cave, where the rehearsal of the doctrine took place."

(26) There is no reference in Bauddha books because he was not a follower of that religion; vide the above f. n. no. 25.

(27) Bud. Ind. pp. 15:—" As usual the Buddha himself is not delineated (This shows that the incription is not about him) at the Bhārhut Stūpa. Only his foot-prints are shown. It is also distinctly stated that he was not converted. There is no evidence that he really, after the moment, when his heart was moved, continued to follow Buddha's teaching. He never, as far as we know, waited again either upon the Buddha or upon any member of the order, to discuss ethical matters, and we hear of no material support given by him to the order during Buddha's life."

proof of Ajātśatru having ever followed Buddhism". Again it is stated on pp. 160 of the Cambridge History of India[28] that, "Jains have more right than the Bauddhas over this king who can be accused of patricide". The pillar erected by Ajātśatru himself in the Bhārhut stūpa is the best proof to show that he was a follower of Jainism[29], like his father.

Ajātśatru was born in 556-7 B. C. He ascended the throne in 528 B. C. He died in 496 B. C.[30] after reigning for 32 years. Thus his life-time was sixty years. He was 28 years old when he ascended the throne.

His queen's name was Prabhādevī, or Prabhāvatī. She was the daughter of Viduratha, the eldest son of Prasenjit of Kośal; she was married in 538 B. C., which means that she must have been born in 551-2 B. C. When Kuṇik came to the throne, Udāyan was six years old, which means that he was born in 534 B. C. Kuṇik had a daughter also named Padmāvatī[31] who was married to Udayan, king of Vatsa.

His family

Ajātśatru seems to have married none except Prabhāvatī, but it also seems impossible that a great king like himself should have done so, in those times of poligamy for kings. One writer[32]

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(28) C. H. I. pp 160 "There seems to be little doubt that the Jains have more claim to include the patricide king (Ajātśatru) among their converts than the Buddhists."

O. H. I. pp. 48 "Both Buddhists and Jains claimed him as one of themselves. The Jaina claim appears to be well-founded."

(29) See f. n. no. 15 above and matter connected with it.

(30) He did not die naturally. See f. n. 13 above.

(31) H. H. pp. 50. "His (Ajātśatru's daughter Padmāvatī was still unmarried".

(32) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājyamśa" Vol. 2 "He had another queen named Pātli, the daughter of a king named Mahendravarmā". The writer has given no proof to support this statement. It is possible that he must have based his conclusion on the fact that Udāyan founded Pātliputra, and that therefore he must have been the son of a queen named "Pātli"; and thus "Pātli" must been the queen of Kuṇik. This deserves further research. Cf. f. n. no. 44 below.

states that he had married a girl named Pātli though I do not attach much importance to it.

He had inherited from his father the kingdoms of Magadh, Aṅga[33], and Kāśī. We have seen how he acquired the kingdom of Vaiśālī (Videha) on account of the death of Cheṭak. He is not known to have waged any war for obtaining further territory. We know that during his father's life-time he had to fight against the king of Kośal 10 or 12 times, in which he sometimes conquered the king of Kośal, and sometimes was defeated by him. At last the king of Kośal was defeated, and as a result, his father Śreṇik married Prasenjit's daughter, and he married his son's daughter. One writer is of the opinion[34] that Kuṇik, and not Prasenjit was defeated finally in these battles and that he was imprisoned for a time. This seems improbable, because if Prasenjit had been victorious he would not have given his daughter and his son's daughter in marriage to Śreṇik and Kuṇik.

Extent of his territory, and his death

Thus the territory of Kuṇik occupied the entire northern portion of Eastern India; and he had friendly relations with Prasenjit of Kośal. So he directed his attention towards making conquests in the south, and while trying to pass through the Vindhyās his death took place under accidental circumstances[35].

One thing remains to be specially noted here. We are all, as we know, indebted to Śreṇik for social organization and structure. Kuṇik was the pioneer in trying to find out a way from northern India to southern India through the Vindhyā ranges

(33) This country was, really speaking, under the rule of Kaliṅg, but the author of Purātattva has used the words "Aṅga-magadho" together. This also deserves research at the hands of experts.

There is again no possibility of Aṅga having different king as a vassel of the king of Magadh, because Kuṇik made Champāpurī his capital.

(34) C. H. I. 3rd. Ed. pp. 35. "It is said, Ajātśatru was carried away as a captive in chains to his opponent's capital. ultimately peace was restored and a princess of Kośal was given in marriage to the king of Magadh".

(35) See f. n. 13 above.

which were upto his time believed to be impassable. Though he died while doing so, though his excursion was not successful on this account, yet he was the first to show the possibility of passing through them, as a result of which his son Udāyan could go upto Ceylon. I have quoted below some sentences from pp. 4 of the Oxford History of India, by Vincent Smith. In prehistoric times, communication between the north and the south, must have been very difficult and rare[36]. "The people of either region presumably knew little or nothing of those in the other and the two populations were probably totally different in blood".

(8) UDĀYAN-UDAYĀŚVA[37]—UDĀYANBHAT[38]

Udāyan succeeded his father on the throne of Magadh. His mother was Prabhāvatī, the daughter of the son of Prasenjit of Kośal. Some writer has said that his mother's name was Pātli. (See f. n. nos. 32 and 44). This, as I have already said, deserves research. He was born in 534 B. C., he ascended the throne in 496 B. C. at the age of 38–39, and he died in 480 B. C.[39] at the age of 55.

It is stated, however, in Jaina books that he gave the throne to his son[40] at the age of 55, and devoted himself to spiritual pursuits (Bh. B. V. pp. 56). He must have died some years later. (See f. n. no. 1 above).

Just as Kuṇik did not like to stay in Rājgṛhī because of the death of his relatives, so Udāyan did not like to stay in

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(36) I have based my conclusions on Jaina books and not on Mr. Vincent Smith's statement. Some scholars have the habit of looking scornfully on evidence and instances given in Jaina books, of which I have taken the fullest advantage in finding truths for the history of Ancient India. Those who do not pay due attention to such evidence, surely do injustice to truths about the history of Ancient India.

(37) Pp. 40, "Chandragupta" published by Baroda Sāhitya Granthmālā.

(38) See f. n. no. 54 below.

(39) See f. n. no. 1 above.

(40) This means he did not die without a son. Cf. the death of Udāyan of Vatsa.

Champāpurī on account of the death of his father. So he decided to change his capital. He divided his soldiers into four equal divisions and sent each division in each direction. One of them came near the place where the confluence of the Son and the Ganges takes place[41]. Near the place, there was a fine blooming tree, on which they saw a bird which opened its beak now and again, and the insects voluntarily fell into its mouth and it ate them. The soldiers liked this place, where a bird had to make no effort to earn its livelihood, so that the men who would stay there, would have their desires fulfilled[42]. When the king heard this, he immediately decided to found his new capital there, and people became busy in building the new capital. They did their work so rapidly that Udāyan came to stay in it, in the fourth year of his reign. (492 B. C.)[43]. The name of that wonderful tree was Pātal, (Roydā) and hence the city was named Pātlipattan or Pātliputra[44]. Again, as the tree had very beautiful flowers which looked still more beautiful in the rays of the sun,

Change of capital

(41) Its name was Suvarṇa-rekhā or Hiraṇya-rekhā in those times. This river is divided into two streams. The sand in one of them is very soft and fine, and hence that part is called "Ṛjuvālukā" and it flows near Nāgod State in Central Provinces, near which there is Bhārhut Stūpa. (See map in Chapter VI Part I).

(42) In Bauddha books also, a wonderful description is given of this place though slightly different from the one given in the Jaina books.

(43) C. H. I. by Smith, 3rd. Ed. pp. 36 f. n. no. 28, pp. 39 f. n. no. 1. The building of the city of Pātliputra on the south bank of the Ganges in his fourth year by Udāyan is asserted by the Vāyupurāṇ. Vide Bh. B. V. pp. 55; J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 74, f. n. 41. Udāyan has founded the city of Pātliputra according to the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇās, Gargasaṃhitā and the Jaina traditions.

Cf. f. n. no. 20 above.

For the origin of the word and the tree of this name, see f. n. no. 44 below.

(44) Pātliputra does not mean the son of a queen named Pātli (f. n. 32 above). Putra means Putta : Paṭṭaṇ=city. (f. n. 1, Chap. V. Part I.). Interesting stories about the origin of this tree are told in Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 55–60 and in R. W. W. Vol. II, pp. 82–83.

it was also called Kusumpur. This city had a large area. Megāsthines, who had come as an ambassador in 304 B. C. to the court of Aśoka, has said that its area was 80 studias by 15 studias[45]. It was surrounded by a wooden wall, which had 570 minarets and 64 gates. Round the wall there was a ditch 630 ft. broad and thirty feet deep.

Modern engineers and architects generally believe that there was nothing like systematic planning and swift building process in those times. That such a large city was completely built within a short time of four years, while a portion of New Delhi took ten full years to be built and even then, has not been completely and satisfactorily built, throws ample light on the capacity of the engineers of those days as compared with the engineers of to-day[47].

He also got a large Jaina temple built in Pātliputra and established the idol of Nemināth the twenty-second Tīrthankar of the Jains[48]. He always came to worship here. After a short time, he started on his pilgrimage to Girnār and Śatruñjay in Saurașțra. In 1882 A. D. two idols of Yakśās have been found from the neighbourhood of Patanā[49], and they have been placed in the "Bhārhut Gallery" of Calcuttā Museum. Sir Cunninghām is of the opinion that[50] they must not have been older than Aśoka's

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(45) C. H. I. pp. 411. (Oblong 80×15 studias=9¼ miles by 1 mile & 2270 yds.; ditch 30 cubits (60 ft.) deep by 6 plithra (200 yds wide).

Inscr. of Aśoka by Prof. Hultzsch Vol. I, Pref. XXXVII "Stretched in the habited quarters to an extreme length of each side of eighty studia and that its breadth was 15 studia, and that a ditch encompassed it all-round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and 30 cubits in depth; and that the walls was crowned with 570 towers and had four and sixty gates".

(46) I have written "ten years" as an approximate number.

(47) Another instance of fine architecture is supplied to us by Priyadarśin which we shall discuss in his account. These incidents prove that architecture was known to the people of ancient India.

(48) Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 55.

(49) "Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvanśa". Vol. 2 pp. 28-29.

(50) A. S. R. Vol. 15 pp. 2 and 3.

time; while Mr. Jayaswāl believes that[51] they must have been of a much earlier date than that of Aśoka, because on one of them is written the word "Aja" (Lord of the World) and on the other is written "Samrāṭ Vartinandi". I believe that these two idols must have been first established by Udāyan in the temple built by him. Again Mr. Jayaswāl states that in Bhāgvat, Udāyan is called "Aja" and Nandivardhan is called "Ajeya"[52]. If this is true, these two can be called the oldest Jaina idols. On the other hand, upto the time of Ajātśatru the Jains had no idols, they simply had the foot-prints[53]. Hence Udāyan was the first to establish a Jaina idol. We do not know when Buddhists started to establish idols.

Why he was called Bhat[54]

After coming to stay in the new capital, he directed his attention towards the extension of his territory. First of all, he re-organized his army, and appointed Nāgdaśak, a relation of his, to the post of Commander-in-Chief. (B. C. 490-91) Udāyan introduced strict discipline in the army, as a result of which it was so much admired by Megasthines, later on. When Nāgdaśak became the king of Magadh, under the name of Nandivardhan, he made many improvements in the army, which was made still more disciplined and made formidable in the reign of Chandragupta.

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(51) J. B. R. S. 1919 March. "Aja=the Lord of the Earth"; "Nandivardhan is called Vartivardhan in Vāyupurān (Bhārat no Prāchin Rājvanśa Vol. 2 pp. 30).

(52) Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvanśa pp. 30 "In Bhāgvat, Udayāśva of the Śiśunāga dynasty is called "Aja" and his son (it ought to be successor) Nandivardhan is called "Ajeya," which means very valorous.

(53) See the pillar of Ajātśatru in Bhārhut-stūpa, in which there is no idol, but foot-prints. Bauddhas always establish idols (See Part III, Chapter I).

(54) R. K. M. pp. 77 :—The writer has quoted a passage from Dig-nikāy II, and has used the words, "would that my son Udāyanbhadda". The "bhadda" used here means "the good"; but the word "bhat" is more applicable to Udāyan because he had fought many battles during his reign, and he had re-organised and disciplined the whole of his army. Cf. f. n. nos. 38, 57, 59.

After thus first re-organizing his army, he set off for the conquest of southern India, and possibly conquered all kingdoms upto Ceylon, where in commemoration of his victory he founded a new city named Anurudhdhapur[55], after the name of his son Anurudhdha; we see ruins of this city even no-day (ruins of temples and monastaries). It is possible that the conquest of Ceylon and the founding of the new city, might have taken place during the reign of his son Anurudhdha; or during his lifetime Prince Anurudhdha might have led the army to Ceylon and conquered it and then founded the city after his name[56]. We should not forget that a part of the credit for the conquests was due to Nāgdaśak under whose control was the whole army. Thus Udāyan was called Bhat[57] because he fought many battles and conquered many countries[58].

The end of his reign and of his life

Though he was fond of battles, yet he was not inclined to commit sins[59]. When the wars were over, he set off on a pilgrimage to various holy Jaina places, and entrusted his son Anurudhdha[60] with the care of the kingdom. We do not know under what circumstances he died; perhaps he might have died on his way to various places of pilgrimage[61]. Some writers are of the opinion

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(55) There is no direct evidence to prove that he had gone to the south but the accounts and origins of "Chuṭakāṇand" (See the Chap. on Coins), of Mauryas (Chapter on Chandragupta), the Pallavāṣ (Chap. VI, part-II) and of others afford us indirect testimony to that effect. See f. n. no. 56 below and further pages.

(56) It is more possible that the invasion and conquest of Ceylon must have taken place during the reign of Udāyan, because the reign of Anurudhdha lasted only 6 years. Cf. f. n. no. 64 below.

(57) Cf. f. n. nos. 37 and 54 above. The appellation "Bhadda=the good" can also be applied to him. Cf. 59 below.

(58) Chapter VI. Part II.

(59) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 75 :—"Udāyan the good, Dharmātmā— on the authority of Garga-samhitā.

(60) He had two sons, Anurudhdha and Mund.

(61) Vide the previous pages of this chapter.

that he was murdered by an old enemy of his, while he was sleeping in Posadha-śālā (a place to perform religious ceremonies) and that he left no son behind him[62]. I believe that the king who was thus murdered was not this Udāyan of Magadh, but was Udayan of Vatsa, the son of Śatānik, and these writers have confused tbe names. The story of the murder is as follows:— The murderer was a monk who was insulted by Udayan when he was under his service. He left Udayan's service and took shelter and service under the king of Avanti. Now the reasons why I believe that Udayan of Vatsa was murdered are:—(1) Avanti and Vatsa[63] are near each other; hence a man insulted in Magadh would find it difficult to go from Magadh to Avanti, in those times when there were no railways or any other means of fast and easy travel. (2) The relations between Magadh and Avanti were friendly, and it is not likely that the king of Avanti might have given shelter to a man insulted by the king of Magadh; on the contrary, Avanti and Vatsa were not on good terms because Chaṇḍapradyot of Avanti wanted to marry by force Mrgāvatī, the mother of Udayan of Vatsa, as a consequence of which Udayan of Vatsa had taken away by force Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Chaṇḍapradyot. Hence the king of Avanti might have given shelter to a man insulted by the king of Vatsa. (3) Udayan of Vatsa died without a son, but Udāyan of Magadh had two sons, while the throne of Vatsa was given to Maṇiprabh who was an adopted heir. (Chap. V, Part I, Chap. VII, Part I).

(9) ANURUDHDHA AṆD MUND

Anurudhdha succeeded his father on the throne, and he died after ruling for only six years. He was succeeded by his younger

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(62) Bh. B. V. Translation pp. 56 "He set off for a pilgrimage, having given his son his throne (i. e. it is proved that he had a son). Some non-Jaina books also say that he had a son, Pariśiṣṭa-Parva says that he had no son. Even Bh. B. V. Translation contradicts itself by saying elsewhere that he had no son. I leave the whole thing to the reader's discretion.

(63) The confusion has taken place because the kings of Magadh and Vatsa had the same name, and they were also contemporaries. Vide the account of Udayan of Vatsa Chapter V Part I.

brother Mund, who ruled only for two years[64]. No great events took place during their reigns; on the contrary some disgraceful incidents have happened. Both the brothers ruled from 480 to 472 B. C.

Chief events

Though the brothers were young when they came to the throne, yet they have ruled for the shortest time of all the kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty. They were neither wanting in bravery nor were they otherwise inefficient. Anurudhdha, during his father's reign, had conquered all the territory upto Ceylon[65]. What were, then, the reasons of the short time of their reigns?

Now, no causes have yet been found which are supported by conclusive evidence. We can draw some probable conclusions from what scattered facts and scrapes of evidence we have. We shall take Anurudhdha first. He succeeded his father in 480 B. C. and his reign ended in 474 B. C. That his brother succeeded him on the throne, means that he died without a son. He was not old when he died, which leads us to believe that his death must have taken place in accidental circumstances. We can forward the following reasons for our conclusion:—

(1) Anurudhdha succeeded his father on the throne, because the latter had preferred to stay and pass his last days in a place of pilgrimage to reigning any longer. In that place, some rebellion must have arisen against him, and Anurudhdha might have gone there to help his father, and both of them must have been killed.[66]

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(64) Bhārat no Prāchīn Rājvaṃsa, Vol. II, pp. 30–31. It is stated there on the authority of Mahāvaṃśa and Aśokāvdān that after Udāyan, Anurudhdha and Mund ruled for eight years. Again vide 4, Mahāvaṃśa, and I. A. 1914 pp. 165.

(65) It is clear from this, that the accounts which are given of the kings of Magadh in Sinhālese Chronicles, must refer to these kings who conquered this country and not because they were Bauddhās.

(66) See f. n. no. 69 below.

(2) He might have died of an epidemic in any other place on his way[67].

(3) He might have been killed or murdered while trying to control a rebel-prince in some part of his empire.

(4) He might have been the victim of a plot against his life. Of these four reasons, Nos. 2 & 3 are more probable than others, and, I think, No. 2 is more probable than No. 3. It is true that he could not have been able, by disposition, to bear any vassal king of his trying to be independent, and consequently might have invaded the territory of such a king, who might have plotted against his life and killed him. It is a well-known fact in history that many kings became independent after his death, but none during his life-time. Hence, I think, it is more probable that he might have died of some epidemic[68].

In Mund's case, he had lost his father and his elder brother at short intervals, and consequently was sorrow-ridden. Again, no sooner did he ascend the throne, than the queen, whom he loved more than his own life, died[69]. The queen was so dear to him that he did not allow the dead body of the queen to be burnt for some days[70]. He lost all interest in the affairs of his kingdom, and as a result, anarchy began to prevail everywhere in his empire. Many kings threw off the yoke of the empire of Magadh and became independent. His Commander-in-chief, Nāg-daśak, no longer able to endure this misrule, dethroned him[71] with

(67) See f. n. no. 68 below, and the description of the territory of Udāyan in the last Chapter of Part II. Cf. it with the matter in the following pages.

(68) See f. n. no. 69 below.

(69) These deaths at short intervals suggest that they must have resulted from an epidemic which must have spread over the country. We have no evidence to support this.

(70) See further.

(71) We do not know what Mund did after his abdication. Perhaps he might have led a religious life, as he had lost all interest in the world. We have no reason to believe that he was murdered, because people were not greedy of becoming kings in those times. In Bauddha books, Ajātśatru and his four successors have been described guilty of patricide. We have proved

the help of populace to preserve the unity and the power of the empire. As Mund had no son, or near relative to succeed him, as Nāgdaśak was known to be a loyal servant of the crown for a long time, the people entrusted him with the reins of the empire[72].

Thus ended the Śiśunāga dynasty proper. In a way it can be said to have continued, because Nāgdaśak was a cousin of Mund, and belonged to the same family.

The connection of Anurudhdha with Anurudhdhapur

We know that Ajātsatru's territory did not extend beyond the boundary lines of northern India. Hāthigumfā inscriptions, on the other hand, inform us that Khārvel in his position as heir-apparent, conquered all the countries, right from Kalinga to cape Comorin in 431 B. C. (Vide his account). Hence during the 65 years intervening the death of Ajātśatru (496 B. C.) and the conquests by Khārvel (431 B. C.) some powerful ruler of North India must have conquered these countries which must have again asserted their independence.

Now we know that during these 65 years there were only two powerful empires in North India—one of Magadh and the other of Kalinga. Kings of Āndhra, though they were powerful, have no place here, because Āndhra dynasty was established in 427 B. C. (Vide its account). The kings who ruled over Magadh during these 65 years were—1. Udāyan, 2. Anurudhdha, 3. Mund, 4. Nandivardhan I, and 5. Nand II. The kings who ruled over Kalinga during the same years were 1. Kśemrāj and 2. Buddharāj.

The fact that Buddharāj's heir-apparent Bhikhkhurāj (who afterwards assumed the name of Khārvel) conquered these southern countries, leads us to the conclusion that they were not

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above that Ajātśatru was free from this crime. The other four also cannot be accused of it, as we have no proofs to convict them. Baudda writers might have described them so, because they did not belong to their religion. (Cf. f. n. no. 94 on pp. 273). O. H. I. pp. 48. In ancient India. the first murder for the sake of getting a throne was committed during the time of Aśoka (?) or during the time of Puṣyamitra,—Agnimitra of the Śunga dynasty, who killed Brhadrath.

(72) Nāgdaśak does not seem to be his real name, which is not known.

under the power of Buddharāj, and Kšemrāj. Again Kalinga was under the power of Magadh upto 474 B. C., when Kšemrāj asserted his independence. Hence some ruler of Magadh must have conquered these countries during the 22 years between 474 B. C. to 496 B. C. Three kings ruled over Magadh during these years, out of whom the last two, Anurudhdha and Mund, ruled only for 8 years. From the details of their reigns given above, it follows that they did not conquer these countries during their reigns[73]. Hence Udāyan must have conquered these countries as stated before.

Bauddha books inform us that Anurudhdhapur was founded by a local king named Vijay, who is said to have ruled from 520 B. C. to 482 B. C.[74]. We do not know in what year he founded the city. King Udāyan ruled from 496 to 480 B. C. and we have stated that he founded this city and gave it a name to commemorate his son's name. If king Vijay might have founded the city, he might have given it a name after his own name–say, Vijayapur or Vijayanagar. Hence it is more probable that Udāyan must have founded the city and given it the name in order to commemorate his son's conquest of the country.

Though no religious books of India proper, contain the information that Udāyan had a son named Anurudhdha, yet the same Bauddha books of Ceylon inform us that Ajātšatru had two grandsons named Anurudhdha and Mund[75], who had ascended the throne after Udāyan, and had ruled, in all, for eight years. This is accepted as truth by all the historians of ancient India.

One more detail supports our conclusion. As all the kings of

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(73) Vide the details given at the end of this Chapter.

(74) Vide the accounts of Priyadaršin and Ašoka. I have given there a chronological list of the rulers of Ceylon, from which we can know which king of Ceylon was a contemporary of a particular king of Magadh. Vide the last chapter of this part, where details are given about the territorial extents of the kings of Šišunāga and Nanda dynasties.

(75) F. n. no. 64 above.

Śiśunāga dynasty were Jains[76], Anurudhdha, who was also a Jain, built in Anurudhdhapur several Jaina temples, monasteries, Upāśrayās, Chaityās (which some scholars wrongly call Vihārās and Mathās), and erected there a Stūpa[77] just as Ajātśatru had erected a similar stupa at Bhārhut[77], Priyadarśin at Sāñchī[77] and Khārvel at Amarāotī[78]. These were turned into Bauddha places when Buddhism prevailed in this country during the reign of Aśoka, whose son had gone there on missionary purposes.

The kingdoms that became independent

Though Udāyan had conquered the whole of southern India, yet after his death, and the death of Anurudhdha in the same year, and because of the feeble-mindedness of Mund, certain kings and chiefs who were subdued by them, asserted their independence. The first to take advantage of this opportunity was Kśemrāj, of Kaliṅg. He belonged to the Chedi dynasty, the founder of which was Karkaṇdu. We do not know what was the relation between them. This happened in 474–75 B. C.

When Kaliṅg thus became independent, kingdoms in the south of Kaliṅg also began to assert their independence. Some chiefs who were appointed as governors of these southern provinces by Anurudhdha, disowned him as their sovereign and declared themselves independent. We know that there were nine kinds of Lichchhavi kśatriyās and nine kinds of Malla kśatriyās. All these eighteen were commonly called Saṃvrijis. These chiefs must have belonged to any one of these eighteen families, because all of

(76) Many other historical incidents can be quoted in support of our conclusion. I have given them in the chapter containing details about the territorial extents of the kings of Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties.

(77) Vide their accounts for details.

(78) A. S. I. 1984 New series. Vol. XV. pp. 20. "We know of but two very distinct types of stūpās. The more common is exemplified in those of Māṇikyāl, Sāñchī, Sāranāth and of Anurudhdhapur in Ceylon". (This means that all these are based on the same model). "They have a circular basement supporting a hemispherical dome etc.,". (Now if the Stūpās of Sāñchī and of Bhārhut can be proved to be connected with Jainism it follows that the Stūpa of Anurudhdhapur must also be connected with Jainism).

them descended from Samvrijis, whose place of residence was Magadh. They were known as Kadambās, Pāṇdyās, Cholās, and Pallavās. The Kadambās established their power over the western portion of south India, the Cholās established their power over the region on the east of Kaling, the Pāṇdyās established their power over the region on the south of the territory of the Cholās, while the Pallavās decided to stay in the region situated between the kingdoms of the Kadambās and Cholās. All these must have ruled independently for some years[80] after which the Kadambās and the Pallavās were subdued by Nandivardhan of Magadh[81] (Vide his account), and the Cholās and the Pāṇdyās were subdued by Buddharāj of Kaling[82]. Details about these people will be given in the subsequent chapters of these volumes. It will be sufficient to note here, that all of them descended from Samvrijis who originally resided in Magadh from the end of the 5th century B. C. One of the branches of the Samvrijis is known as "Mauryas" who also migrated to southern India. Historians have given them the name of "New Mauryās" in order to distinguish them from the "Mauryās" to which Chandragupta belonged. Details about these will be given in the account of Chandragupta.

We have stated above that Udāyan ruled for 16 years from 496 to 480 B. C., that Anurudhdha ruled after him for 6 years and Mund ruled after him for two years. These statements

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(80) Within 29 years their independence was taken away and their names became oblivious. The federal system of government was on its way to decline. Chānakya had tried to destroy it root and branch, but he was not wholly successful in his efforts. Priyadarśin seems to have encouraged the system. After his time the system disappeared shortly and steadely, and its destruction was hastened by the Aśvamedha sacrifices of Śunga kings, and by foreign invaders.

(81) Nandivardhan had appointed chiefs belonging to his race as governors of these provinces. Their names were Chutukānand, Mūlānand etc., (coins struck by them exist even to-day Vide the chapter on coins in Part III).

(82) Hāthigumfā Inscriptions by Khārvel contain this information in the portion about two years preceding his coming to the throne. Hence I have here given the name of Buddharāj.

require some corrections which are given below with reasons for them.

It is stated that Udāyan's reign lasted for 23 years (f. n. no. 1 of this chapter). On the other hand it is stated that he started on a pilgrimage after placing his son on the throne, which means that he was alive for some years after his renunciation of the throne. Thirdly Anurudhdha ruled for six years and Mund ruled for two years. Fourthly it is said that Ajātśatru's grandson Mund ruled for eight years (Buddha Era 40 to 48 i. e. 480 to 472 B. C.[83]). Fifthly it is given that Anurudhdha and Mund must have ruled jointly as their names are given to-gether. Sixthly, the number of the kings of Śiśunāga dynasty was nine, which means that the last two kings must have ruled jointly, and thus Nandivardhan can be called the tenth as his name suggests. (Nāgdaśak = tenth king of the Nāga i. e. Śiśunāga dynasty). All these theories contain some element of truth. The fact must have been as follows:—Udāyan must have renounced his throne to Anurudhdha in 480 B C., and then he must have died six or seven years later in 474 B. C. (Thus he lived for 62 years). Anurudhdha too died in the same year[84]. Hence his reign coincides with the period of the retirement of his father. Thus, because both the father and the son died in the same year[85], we can say that Mund came to the throne immediately after Udāyan, and

Another possibility about Udāyan's reign

(83) The year of Buddha's Parinirvāṇ (going to heaven) was 520 B. C., while the year of his Nirvāṇ was 543 B. C. The Bauddha Era is differently calculated in different countries. Details about it are given in Chapter I, Vol. II. For some explanation vide f. n. no. 1 of this chapter.

(84) See f. n. no. 85 below.

(85) We know that both the father and the son died in the same year. We have to find out who died first, because historical conclusions depend upon it.

Personally I believe that Anurudhdha must have died first, and Udāyan must have died of the shock of such calamitous tidings. Again if Udāyan had died first, Anurudhdha must have been called as a separate ruler of Magadh, though only for a short time because he died in a short time. That he is not called a separate king, proves that he must have died before his father.

thus the number of Śiśunāga kings can be said to be nine and Nandivardhan can be called the tenth.

If we accept the above-stated conclusion, we can understand how Kśemrāj, the Cholās, the Pāṇdyās, the Kadambās, and the Pallavās became independent after 574 B. C. Again the deaths of father and elder brother in the same year might well have unsettled the mind of a young man like Mund. We have given above four possible ways in which Anurudhdha must have died. Out of these four Nos. 2nd and 3rd are more probable than the rest. That Mund's queen died during the same year leads us to believe that both Anurudhdha and she must have been victims of some epidemic that might have devastated the country at that time.

More details about Śiśunāga dynasty

It is stated in Cambridge History of India as follows :— "On the authority of Aguttar III 57-63 : A king Mund dwelling at Pātliputra is so overwhelmed with grief at the death of his wife Bhaddā, that he refuses to have the cremation carried out according to the custom, but after a simple talk with a thera (a monk) named Nārad, he recovers his self-possession".[86]. It is stated in another book[87] that "We learn from the chronicles that king Mund was the grandson of Aājtśatru and began to reign about the year 40 A. B. (480 B. C.)". Foot note no. 64 above states that after Udāyan, Anurudhdha and Mund both came to the throne. Anurudhdha must have been the heir-apparent because Udāyan founded a city after his name during his life-time. All these evidences lead us to the conclusion that both Anurudhdha and Mund were sons of Udāyan, and they ruled jointly over Magadh. Again Nāgdaśak has been stated to be the tenth king in the Śiśunāga line, which means that the reigns of Anurudhdha and Mund were not separate but conjoined.[88] Coins of Nāgdaśak

(86) C. H. I. pp. 189.

(87) Mahāvaṇśa IV 2. 3. Divyāvadān 36 V.

(88) Vide previous pages for the whole list of the Śiśunāga kings.

bear the sign of serpent, thus proving that he belonged to the Śiśunāga dynasty[89]. Nāgdaśak's other name was Nandivardhan, and because he was not a direct descendant of his predecessors, his dynasty was called the Nanda dynasty after his name. If we combine both the dynasties, the former being called the senior Śiśunāga line, and the latter the junior Śiśunāga line, Nāgdaśak can be called the tenth king of the Śiśunāga dynasty as a whole.

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(89) Śiśunāg's dynasty is called senior Śiśunāga line and Nand's dynasty is called junior Śiśunāga line. The sign of senior Śiśunāgs is a large serpent while that of juniors is a small serpent. (Vide the chapter on coins). Prof. J. L. Carpentier says, "The Purāṇās know no break of political continuity between the Śiśunāgās and the Nandās".

More information

Some more details about these kings have been found out. I have stated them below to avoid confusion.

The following contradictory theories have been forwarded on the authority of the Jaina, Bauddha, and the Vedic religious books:

(1) Udāyan died leaving no son behind him (f. n. no. 53 Chapter V Part I).

(2) Udāyan was murdered (Chapter V. Part I, f. n. no. 53 and Chapter III, Part II).

(3) Udāyan had gone on a pilgrimage entrusting his son with the care of administration. (Vide his account in the preceding chapter).

(4) Udāyan ruled for 16 years. (See the chronological list given in Chapter I, Part II).

(5) Udāyan ruled for 24 years (f. n. no. 1, Chapter III above).

(6) The Śiśunāga dynasty ended with the death of Udāyan. (Vide the previous Chapter).

(7) Śiśunāga dynasty lasted for 108 years (Chapter I, P. II).

(8) Nandivardhan came on the throne immediately after Udāyan. (See No. 6 above).

(9) Though Mund had a claim over the throne, yet his ministers dethroned him and Nandivardhan became king in his place. (See Chapter VI, Part II and the previous chapter).

All the above theories contain some truth, but because their writers have not given details, some later writers have misinterpreted them. I have stated my own conclusion below, after paying due attention to all of them :—

We may accept that Udāyan's period of reign was 24 years; but he had gone on a pilgrimage during the last eight years of his reign, entrusting both his sons with the care of the empire. Anurudhdha occupied himself with conquering countries with the

help of Nandivardhan, the commander-in-chief, while Mund attended to internal administration. Anurudhdha returned to Magadh after six years and joined his brother in the internal administration. Within a short time, a dangerous epidemic devastated the whole country and Anurudhdha died of it. The news of his death came as a great shock to Udāyan, who was on his pilgrimage tour and he died there. Within a short time Mund's queen also became a victim to the same epidemic and died of it. Mund became almost insane due to the deaths of his three nearest relatives in a short time; he was dethroned by his ministers and Nandivardhan was made king in his place. (It is also possible that first Anurudhdha, then Mund's queen, and then Mund himself, must have died of the epidemic, and Udāyan must have died after them, unable to bear the grief. But Bauddha books inform us that King Mund had lost control over his mind due to the death of his dear queen Bhaddā. Hence this theory of the death of Udāyan, after the deaths of all the other three, though it deserves notice and requires research-work, cannot be given much credit, as their is no evidence to support it).

Now we may try to answer the above-stated nine theories.

(1) Though Udāyan had sons, but as they died of the epidemic before his death, he can be said to have died without a son behind him.

(2) Truly speaking, Udayan of Vatsa was killed, but as Udayan of Vatsa, and Udāyan of Magadh were contemporaries, scholars have confused their names. (f. n. no. 63 in the previous Chapter).

(3) Both Anurudhdha and Mund can be said to have come to the throne as they were entrusted with the care of the government. This system of entrusting the government of a country to the care of an agent during the absence of its king, exists even to-day.

(4) He ruled actively for 16 years only. For the last eight years he led practically a retired life. These eight years can be said to be the period of the rule of his sons.

(5) He can be said to have ruled for 24 years, because though he had retired, he was alive, and his sons were his representatives. (The same thing happened with Chandragupta, Aśoka, and the Śuṅga king Agnimitra).

(6) With the support of No. 1 we can say that Śiśunāga dynasty ended with Udāyan and the Nanda dynasty began immediately after him.

(7) Śreṇik's reign 52, Kuṇik's 32, Udāyan's 24 (or Udāyan's 16, and 8 of Anurudhdha and Mund) 108.

(8) With the support of No. 1 and No. 6 we can say that Nandivardhan came to the throne immediately after Udāyan.

(9) Details about this will be given in the account of Mund. (Part II, Chapter VI).



Chapter IV

Nanda dynasty : Junior Nāga dynasty

Synopsis:—*Its names and details about it, a chronological list. Nand I. Nandivardhan—his various names—his relation with Udayan—who was this Udayan?—His life and his minister—Two calamities caused by nature over Magadh during his reign—Explanation about the belief of the era connected with his name.*

Nand II—Confusion about Mahāpadma and Mahānand—who can be called Kālāsok and why?—Details about his family—His rule and his life—Two chief events of his reign—was their any truth in the furore in the society?—Some discussion about the system of marriage—Explanation about Dharmāsok and Kālāsok—One more historical possibility and the surprise it contains for historians.

This dynasty was really a branch of the Śiśunāga dynasty, but historians have given it a separate name after the first king, hence we may call the first Śiśunāgās the senior dynasty and the second the junior dynasty. The number of kings is smaller in the junior line than in the senior one, and also its period of rule is shorter than that of the other. It is also briefly called Nāga dynasty[1], because its coins bear the sign of a serpent[2]. Its third and most commonly known name is Nanda dynasty, named after its first king Nandivardhan. All the kings in the line have been called in order of their succession, Nand I, Nand II and so on.

Its various names and other details

It is commonly believed that the whole dynasty ruled for 100 years[3], but as names of all the kings and their periods of rule are not definitely known, different writers have forwarded different theories. One writer[4] is of the opinion that they ruled for 123 years, and he explains it as follows:—

"Bhuktvā mahīṃ varṣa śatam nandendu hu sa bhavisyati ।"

(here the number is definite but the writer explains it as follows): The tradition about Shat (100), for the Nandās was the result of a mistake. The period covered by the four Nandās (from Nandivardhan to the last Nand) is 123 years; either the word for 23 years was dropped off leaving Śat (100), or the original figure ended in Śat as in Chatvāriñśat and the first part of this original was dropped off in course of copying. Resultant confusion is apparent; the reading of the line containing the figure is glaringly corrupt. Words and numbering have been introduced to fill up some gap. Here the writer has not given any reason why he believes that Nandās ruled for 123 years. He seems to have taken that number for granted, and expresses his confidence in it.

Just as there are different opinions about its period of rule, so there are various views as to the number of kings in the line.

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(1) Vide the description of Avanti, the verses quoted from Pariśiṣta Parva.

(2) Vide the Chapter on coins in Vol. II.

(3) F. n. no. 1 above and f. n. no. 4 for the Sanskrit quotation.

(4) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 86.

It is generally believed that nine kings ruled in the line, but their names and the order of their succession are not known. So the historians have called them Nand I, Nand II and so on, upto Nand IX. One writer[5] is of the opinion that the word "Nava-Nand" used for the last king does not denote number. He says, "It is very likely that the last Nand alone, was originally called Nava-Nand (Nava=the new) or Nand the Junior". He thus believes that the word Nava Nand does not mean there were nine kings in the line[6]. I shall prove later on that there had been nine kings in the line and every king was given the number due to him.

Different opinions prevail about the order of their succession to the throne. Generally all believe, that the first king was Nandivardhan. There is some confusion about Mahāpadma and Mahānand. Some say that Mahāpadma was the predecessor of Mahānand and some say that the latter was the predecessor of the former, while some others say that both the names belong to one individual only[7]. I shall give the names of the remaining six in the account of their reigns given in subsequent chapters.

No definite theory is established as to when this dynasty began to rule and when its rule ended[8]. We have proved in our account of Avanti that this dynasty ended in A. M. 155=372 B.C. As its period of rule is generally accepted to be 100, its rule must have begun in 472 B. C.

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(5) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 91.

(6) From the list of rulers which I have given below, it will be clear that the word "Nava" means the number 9.

(7) Pandit Jayaswāljee has stated his opinions in connection with this. Commenting on his opinions the writer of J. O. B. R. S. says in Vol. I. pp. 86 :—"He has mistaken in chroniclizing Nandivardhan, then Mahānand and then Mahāpadma and hence some of the events attributed to Mahāpadma are applicable to Mahānand and some to Nandivardhan, which is clear from his own words". Again, Ibid pp. 91 :—"Obviously here is a case of confusion as they (Buddhists) transferred the reign period of Nand Mahāpadma to Nand Kālāśok, so also they have transferred from Mahāpadma (his sons) to Kālāśok". (f. n. no. (94).)

(8) I shall discuss this in details in the account of Mahāpadma.

The number 100 is connected with this dynasty in two different ways, thus causing some confusion in the mind of historians. First, the period of rule of this dynasty is 100. Secondly, this period is divided into three parts with a view to show the condition of society during those 100 years. The first period consists of the first two kings, the second of the next six, and the third of the last. The first period extended from A. M. 55 to A. M. 100[9] (472 to 427 B. C.). The second extended from A. M. 100 to A. M. 112, while the third lasted from 112 A. M. to 155 A. M. The condition of society, as we shall see later on, was different in all these three different periods. The first period thus can be called to have lasted upto 100th year of Mahāvīr Era, but not for 100 years[10]. The second period was full of anarchy and misrule. The third period was full of new changes.

Now I have given below a chronological list of its rulers:—

No.	Name		A.M. to A.M.	B.C. to B.C.	No. of years
1	Nand I	Nandivardhan	55—72	472–455	16½
2	„ II	Mahāpadma	72–100	455–427	28½
3	„ III	Aśvaghoś[11]	100–102	427–425	2
4	„ IV	Jyeṣṭamitra[11]	102–104	425–423	2
5	„ V	Sudev[11]	104–106	423–421	2
6	„ VI	Dhandev[11]	106–108	421–419	2
7	„ VII	Bṛhadrath[11–12]	108–110	419–417	2
8	„ VIII	Bṛhaspatimitra[12–13]	110–112	417–415	2
9	„ IX	Mahānand, Dhan-nand, Ugrasen, Pra (Chaṇd) Nand	112–155	415–372	43
				Total	100 years

(9) See the list given below. The rule of Nand II ended in A. M. 100 or 427 B. C.

(10) Cf. f. n. no. 1 above.

(11) I shall explain how I have found these names in the accounts of these kings.

(12) Purāṇās contain the names Bṛhadrath and Bṛhaspatimitra.

(13) This was the same Bṛhaspatimitra who was defeated by Khārvel near the river Ganges as stated in Hāthigumfā inscriptions.

(1) NAND I, NANDIVARDHAN, NAGDAŚAK

We already know that Nand is the short name for Nandivardhan. He was called Nāgdaśak because he was the tenth king of the Siśunāga line as a whole. (Vide the previous chapter). He was called Nandivardhan because he conquered many provinces of north India which were considered invincible upto his time[14]. "Vardhan" means "one who adds something to his possession[15]. He was also called Ajeya[16] "invincible", because of the same reason. He was seldom defeated in battles, and before he became the king, he was a successful commander-in-chief and had subdued all countries upto Ceylon in company with Anurudhdha.

His names

Nandivardhan had married a princess of Vatsa. We have to decide whether she was the sister or the daughter of Udayan of Vatsa[17]. We should here remember that Udayan of Vatsa died in 490 B. C.

His relation with Udayan

Nandivardhan was born in 528 B. C.[18]. He became the commander-in-chief of the army of Magadh in 495 B. C., and he became the king of Magadh in 472 B. C., while he died in 455 B. C. On the other hand, we know that, as Udayan of Vatsa died without an heir, his throne was given to Maṇiprabh who was adopted.

That Maṇiprabh succeeded Udayan on the throne shows, that Nandivardhan had not married the princess of Vatsa before 490 B. C., otherwise he would have got the throne of Vatsa as a son-in-law. The common age of marriage for girls being 13 to 14 in those times, and if we take that Nandivardhan married this

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(14) F. n. no. 51 chapter III, Part II.

(15) The real Sanskrit word is "Vardhak".

(16) F. n. no. 52 Chapter III. Part II.

Some writers believe that Kshatriyās end their names with "Vardhan", just as Brahmins end their names with "Śarman" and Vaiśayās end theirs with "Varmans". For details vide f. n. 73 Chapter VII, Part I.

(17) For details vide f. n. no. 47 chapter V. Part I.

(18) Vide further the paragraph on his age.

princess any time after 490 B. C. we can say that she was born 14 years before the year of her marriage[19]. Now Udayan's father Śatānik died in 550 B. C. Hence this princess could not have been Śatānik's daughter; she must have been the daughter of Udayan, and she must have been married with Nandivardhan ten years after her father's death in 480 B. C.[20].

Nandivardhan could not have been the son-in-law of Udāyan of Magadh, because they both belonged to the same family, and among kśatriyās, members of the same family on the father's side do not intermarry.

His age and his rule

He began his career as the commander-in-chief of Udāyan. He must have been appointed to this place in the very first year of Udāyan's reign[21], because by 475 B. C. he had already thoroughly re-organized the army and had subdued the whole of south India upto Cape Comorin—a task which required many years to be accomplished. He must have been at least 25 to 30 at the time of his appointment[22], which leads us to the conclusion that he must have been born in about 495-30=525 B. C. He succeeded Mund on the throne in 472 B. C., and he ruled for sixteen years. The year of his death thus must have been 472-16=456 B C. He must have died at the age of (525-456)=69 years.

Some writers[23] are of the opinion that he ruled for 24 years,[24] and some say that he ruled for 40 years. They are true in a way. If we include his tenure of office as commander-in-chief from Udāyan's time, it would be 40 years, and if we calculate it from Anurudhdha's time it would be 24 years.

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(19) At the time of the death of Udayan, the princess was only four years old.

(20) See f. n. no. 19 above, and vide the account of Udayan of Vatsa.

(21) See f. n. nos. 23-24 below.

(22) If he had been the heir-apparent he might have been younger, but as he was not that, he must have been at least 25 to 33 before his appointment to so high a post.

(23-24) See Pārgiter's "Dynasties of Kali yuga".

He had a son named Mahāpadma who succeeded him on the throne as Nand II. He had no other children. He had at least two queens. When Mahāpadma came to the throne he was far advanced in age. This means that his mother must have been the first queen of Nandivardhan. It is another matter whether she was alive or dead when Nandivardhan came to the throne. Udayan's daughter was his second queen.

His queen and his family

We know that Udayan had died in 490 B. C. and Nandivardhan married his daughter after that. If she might have been 2 or 3 years old at the time of Udayan's death, (i. e, born in 493 B. C.), she must have been married to Nandivardhan in 479 B. C. when she might have become 14[25]. This means that she was married to Nandivardhan before he became king. We have to find out why this daughter of Udayan of Vatsa was given in marriage to a mere commander-in-chief. We can explain it as follows:—

We know that Nandivardhan was on the post of commander-in-chief for a long time. Again he was a cousin of Udāyan of Magadh. He was a brave man and able organizer of the army. Udāyan appreciated his powers and wanted to link him permanently with his empire, by a tie of marriage. Because he was his cousin he could not give him in marriage his own daughter or any other princess of the same family. (By 480 B. C. Mahāpadma's mother must have died). So he directed his attention towards his sister Padmāvatī who was married with Udayan of Vatsa[26]. It is possible that Padmāvatī might have sought her brother's advice, as she had no one to consult, on her father-in-law's side. Udāyan must have advised his sister to give her daughter in marriage to

(25) It has been calculated that he was born in 494 B. C. and was married in 480 B. C. Vide the account of Udayan of Vatsa.

(26) Some are of the opinion that Padmāvatī was the sister of Kuṇik and the daughter of Śrenik. I believe that she was Kuṇik's daughter and Udāyan's sister. The above story supports my belief. He must have tried to make this union because she was his sister's daughter. Vide f. n. no. 47 Chapter V Part I.

Nandivardhan thus strengthening his sister's position in Vatsa, where the adopted son Maṇiprabh had begun to rule,[27] and also making him permanently bound to the empire of Magadh by such a marriage tie.

He must have married his first queen at the age of 16. As he was born in 524 B. C., he must have married her in 524–16=508 B. C. He married his second queen at the age of 48 in 480 B. C., when probably his first queen died. Thus Mahāpadma must have been born any time between 508 to 480 B. C. Now if we take the year of his birth to be 507 B. C. he must have been 507–456=51 years old at the time of his father's death; and if we take the year of his birth to be 479 B C., he must have been 479–456=23 years old at the time of his father's death. But, as his father lived for 69 years and his son Mahānand lived for 65–66 years, we might conjecture that he himself also lived for 70 years[28]; and he has died in 428 B. C. Hence he must have been born in 428–70=498 B. C.

His religion and his ministers

We have seen that the kings of the senior Śiśunāga dynasty were Jains. As these Nand kings were but a branch of the Śiśunāga dynasty, we can reasonably conjecture that they were also Jains. The Hāthigumfā inscriptions strongly support this conjecture[29]. A famous historian[30] says, in support of our conjecture, that the Nandās

(27) As Vatsa's king Udayan was already dead, and as the adopted son had already begun to rule, the son-in-law had no right to the throne.

(28) As all three have died a natural death, we have made this conjecture of their having died almost at the same age. The reign of Mahānand had not ended with his death, but with his renunciation of the throne, and we do not know how long he might have lived in retirement, but he must have lived for a very short time.

Again the age of a son of Mahāpadma, who was born of a woman of low caste, was 30 at the time of Mahāpadma's death, which means that he must have been at least 58 at the time of his death.

(29) Had he not been a Jaina, he would not have waged a great war for a Jaina idol. (Part I. Chapter VI)

(30) E. H. I. 3rd. Edition pp. 42 f. n. no. 2 (Sir G. Grierson). The writers take it for granted that brāhmins had accepted Jainism as their faith, and had given up Brāhminism. Many chief disciples of Mahāvīr were brāhmins,

were reputed to be better enemies of the Brāhmins (It ought to be Brāhminism). This means that they were Jains.

Jaina books[31] inform us that Mahānand or Nand IX had a prime-minister named Śaktāl—Śakḍāl[32]. His seven predecessors in the same office were the members of the same family to which he belonged; the first of whom was Kalpak. They were brahmins by caste and they were Jains by religion. Four or five predecessors of Śakḍāl were put to much trouble due to political reasons. Thus right from Kalpak to Śakḍāl they were prime-ministers of the Nanda kings for 100 years. (For details vide the account of Mahānand).

Just as Nandivardhan's reign was full of political changes, so even Nature afflicted two great calamaties on Pātliputra—one was a severe famine and another was excessively heavy rainfall.

Hāthigumfā inscriptions inform us about famine. It is stated there that Khārvel extended the canal of Magadh into his own country. This fact indicates two things; Nandivardhan had got the canal dug[33] upto the boundary line of his own kingdom[34]. Secondly the fact that Khārvel could extend the canal constructed by Nandivardhan means, that he was more powerful than Nandivardhan[35]. We know that Kṣemrāj had declared the independence of Kaliṅg in the time of Mund. We do not know any other details about this famine.

Calamities afflicted by Nature

(31) See Bharateśvara B. V. Translation pp. 47, 56, and Pariśiṣta Parva.

(32) This Śakḍāl had a son named Sthūlibhadra who was the seventh Pattadhar in succession to Mahāvir. Sthūlibhadra is famous in history. All the members of family were Jains. See f. n. no. 30 above.

(33) This shows that people understood the importance and necessity of canals in those times, and they knew how to construct them.

(34) Or we may suppose that famine extended upto that limit, but that is not possible.

(35) He has shown his prowess to the king of Magadh.

At the time of the second calamity of excessive rain-fall the river Son was overflooded and Pātliputra was in danger of being drowned, but the flood subsided on account of the power of Jaina mantras, with the consequence that people began to have more faith in Jainism. The whole episode is described in Jaina books[36].

· Looking to the circumstances the year of excessive rain-fall must have been A. M. 59 = 468 B. C., and the year of famine[37] must have been between 463 B. C. and 455 B. C. (A. M. 64 to A. M. 72).

Explanation about the common belief in an era connected with his name

The name of king Nand is connected with the number of years given in the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions. Thus the evidence that Khārvel has connected his name with the number of years in his inscriptions, had led many to believe that an era connected with his name must have been in existence for a long time. One writer says,[38]. "The Nanda Era was in use at Knaoj and Muttrā in B. C. 458 : as Alburini says, on the strength of his informants". There Alburini has said only; this much that[39], "A reference is made in the Hāthīguṃfā inscription of something having been made by a Hindu king 300 years, since the time of Nanda kings". The same author, quoting the opinion of Dr. Muzumdar, says that Harṣavardhan and Nandivardhan were the same individual[40]. (The Harṣa Era is definitely stated in certain inscriptions. The writer seems to have a desire to connect this with the name of Nand). The same author quotes

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(36) It is stated in Jaina books that Jaṃbu was the successor of Mahāvīr in the office and after his death in 64 A. M., many calamities visited the country. It is possible that this famine must have been one of them. Cf. the comments on Hāthīguṃfā inscriptions.

(37) Vide the account of Rohinī in Bharateśvara B. V. Translations.

(38) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. XIII pp. 240–245.

(39) Ibid pp. 45.

(40) Words in the bracket are inserted by me.

Dr. Muzumdar[41], as follows : "Long periods mentioned in lines 6 and 11 of the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions, could not have been reckoned without an Era". He quotes one more authority[42]. "According to Alburini's theory, the figure of the Nanda era was got by an addition of 400 to that of Vikram era; the Nanda era has been used in the Hāthīgumfā inscription; it was abolished by Vikramāditya VI of the Chaulukya dynasty". Now we shall try to state the views of this writer point by point; (1) The number of years used in Hāthīgumfā inscriptions refer to Nanda alias Harsa era. (2) That era is calculated by adding 400 to the Vikrama era. (3) This era was in use in Kanoj and Muttrā in 458 B. C. and (4) Vikramāditya VI of the Chaulukya dynasty abolished it. All these conclusions are based on the information gained by a certain Alburini. The writer does not tell, how Alburini gathered this information, and why his information should be taken as authority. Hence we can not give much credit to his opinion. If we take for granted that an era actually began with his name, it means that he must have been a very powerful king whose era was in force for one thousand years[43]. I shall prove later on, and in the account of Khārvel that though Nand had both power and authority to start an era after his name, he did not do so, but started an era after the name of the prophet whose faith he followed, thus showing his generosity, and his devotion to religion.

He died in A. M. 72=455 B. C. and his son Mahāpadma succeeded him on the throne.

(2) MAHAPADMA, NAND II, KĀLĀŚOKA[44]

Mahāpadma was the son of Nandivardhan, and succeeded him

(41) Ibid pp. 237; Dr. Stenow (A. C. I. pp. 24-26). J. O. B. R. S. Vol. IX pp. 147.

(42) Jaina Sahitya Saṃśodhak Vol. III pp. 872.

(43) There is a difference of 100 years between the fourth Century B. C. and Vikramaditva VI of the Chalukya dynasty who has lived in the 6th Century.

(44) I have proved in the next few pages that Nand II cannot be called Kālāśok.

on the throne[45]. He being the second king in the Nanda line, is famous as Nand II in history. Different opinions prevail among historians about two kings of this line, Mahāpadma and Mahānand. Some say that Mahāpadma preceded Mahānand and some say that the latter preceded the former; while some others say that these two names belonged to one and the same individual. I am of the opinion that the two names represent two different individuals, and that Mahāpadma preceded Mahānand, that the former reigned for 28 years and the latter reigned for 43 years, that the reign of the former is not noted for any extraordinary events, while the reign of the latter was full of them (and hence he was called Mahānand or Nand the Great)[46]. Two other reasons support the above-stated conclusion; in the Purāṇās Nand II (son of Nandivardhan) is called Kālāśok[47]. We shall see later on why the Purāṇās (which represent the Vedic religion) gave him such a name; secondly the name of Mahāpadma is connected by the same Purāṇās with the calculation of Kali Era—Udhiṣtir Era[48]. In short, according to the Purāṇās, Mahāpadma and Kālāśok were the names of one and the same individual[49].

One of the most powerful king belonging to Buddhism is named Aśoka by them[50]. We know that this Aśoka lived many years after Mahāpadma[51]. Bauddha books have strangely enough, called him Aśoka II, and have called Mahāpadma Aśoka I. We do not know why they called Mahāpadma Aśoka I; the name

(45) Mahāva$_{m}$sa IV (1), I. A. 1914 pp. 168.

(46) C. H. I. pp. 312—the list of Purāṇās given there.

(47) See f. n. no. 51 below.

(48) A. C. by Sir Cunningham. See the article on "Kali Era".

(49) I have given full explanations about the name Kālāśoka in the following pages.

(50) At the end of the second volume, I have written an appendix about how many Aśokās lived in India, when they lived, and all details about them.

(51) It is not possikle to give a king (who lived formerly) a name which belongs to a king who lived many years after. I, therefore, believed that the name "Kālāśoka" cannot be applied to Nand II, who preceded Aśoka. (Cf. f. n. no. 62 below, and the paragraph with the heading "One other possibility).

of a king who is to be famous in future. Many modern historians have followed this custom.

His reign and his life

We know that he was born in 498 B. C. As he came to the throne in 456 B. C. he must have been 42 at that time, and as he has ruled for 28 years, he must have died in 427 B. C. at the age of 70.

As we have already explained above, the reign of Nand II lasted upto 427 B. C. = 100 A. M. (but not for 100 A. M.). We have noted the confusion that resulted from this.

His family

His harem is said to have included queens belonging to the kšatriya race, and queens belonging to the šudra race. We do not know exactly how many queens he had, but, in those times of polygamy he must have married many. It is said that the daughter of the king of Pāñchāl, who was his queen, had given birth to six or seven sons. (Vide the account of Nand VIII) and that the šudra queen had given birth to at least three sons (see f. n. nos. 3 and 75 below).

All the sons of the kšatriya queen came to the throne of Magadh one by one, while only one son of the šudra queen came to the throne of Magadh; but the other two established empires as great as that of Magadh, by their own valour and adventurous spirit. (Vide their accounts in Āndhra dynasty). Thus all his sons were fortunate to become kings.

Two chief events during his reign

His reign is not noted for any extraordinary events. (For details vide the last chapter of this part) but two events deserve notice here—one from the religious point of view, and the other from the social point of view.

First we shall take up the religious event. Exactly after 10 years and 15 days of his rule[52] the second religious conference

(52) C. I. pp. 7. Dipvaṃśa IV. 44–5, 25; See Vinaypittak by Oldenberg, introduction pp. 29.

According to Sinhālese Chronicles, the time of the conference was 118 years before the coronation of Aśoka. Now Aśoka came to the throne in 326 B. C. (Vide his account) and thus the year of the conference was 326+118 =444 B. C.

of the Bauddhas was held in Vaiśālī or Mithilā, the capital of Videha, which was under his control. According to the Bauddha books this event took place exactly 100 years[53] after the nirvāṇ of Lord Buddha. As Mahāpadma came to the throne in 455 B. C., we can calculate the year of this conference to be 455–11=444 B. C.[54]. The Siṇhālese Chronicles say[55] that this conference was held 118 years before the coronation of Aśoka, and calculating from that, we get the figure 444 B. C. Hence, it is settled that this conference was held in 444 B. C. during the reign of Mahāpadma. Bauddha books, at one place say that Mahāpadma was the president of this conference. At another place the same books say that the president was a learned Bauddha monk. It would be proper to say that the conference was held under the protection and goodwill, but not under the presidentship of Mahāpadma. Again, if Mahāpadma had been the president of this conference, he would have well kept his own capital Pātliputra as the seat of the conference, which would have suited him much more. We know that all the kings of this dynasty were Jains[56] and Bauddhas must not have selected a Jaina king as their president. It is possible that as Jainism always preaches religious tolerence, Mahāpadma would have shown his sympathy towards this conference.

Now we shall turn to the social event. Before taking up the event proper, it is necessary to have a look into the significance of the marriage customs prevailing in those times. There were three main religions in those times; Jainism, Buddhism and the Vedic religion. Out of these three, Jainism[57] and Buddhism put no restrictions on marriage of persons belonging to different castes

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(53) The nirvān of Buddha took place in 543–4 B. C. Deducting 100 years from it we get 444 B. C.

(54) See f. n. no. 53 above.

(55) F. n. no. 52 above.

(56) The coins of this dynasty support this (Vide the chapter on coins).

(57) As Mahāpadma was a Jain, it is not possible that he might have been censured by his people for marrying a śūdra queen. See the paragraph above entitled "One other possibility".

or religions. Only the Vedic religion restricted the scope of marriages by some rules which we shall note below.

Marriage means the union of two persons of two different sexes. The male is the seed, and the female is the field. The Vedic religion advises that marriages must be such that the seed should not deteriorate in quality. To preserve the quality of the seed in tact, either the seed and the field must belong to the same class (which is best) or the field must be superior to the seed; but if the field is inferior to the seed, there is always the possibility of the deterioration of the seed. The same rule is observed in agriculture. According to this rule, a person belonging to a high caste must marry with the person belonging to a high caste. The marriage of a person of high caste with a girl belonging to a low caste is considered quite undesirable and is allowed only in exceptional cases, and is named Anulom[58], by the Vedic religion. The marriage of a person of low caste with the girl belonging to a high caste is known as Pratilom[59] in those books.

We know that it was Śreṇik who formed guilds according to vocations. Before his time no guilds existed and there were no restrictions on marriages in any way. Even after Śreṇik there were only guilds which restricted inter-marriages among the guilds, but there were no caste distinctions and people of different guilds took their dishes on the same table. We know that Śreṇik him-

(58-59) Anulom=marriage with the girl of the lower class; Pratilom= marriage with a girl of a higher class; Anu=lower, lom=class (originally it means "hair"). Prati=opposite or higher.

For instance, if a brāhmin marries with a kshatriya girl, or if a kshatriya married with a vaiśya girl, it is called Anulom marriage. A brāhmin or a kshatriya was allowed to marry a kshatriya or a vaiśya girl, but a vaishya was not allowed to marry a śudrā girl, because none of the first three classes were allowed to marry with a śudra girl. Thus the society was divided into two classes, the first consisting of brahmins. kshatriyās, vaiśyās, and the second consisting of śudrās. A vaiśya was allowed to marry a śudra girl under exceptional circumstances only.

Instances of Pratilom marriages: the marriage of Śukrāchārya's daughter Devyānī with king Yayāti.

self had given his daughters in marriage to non-kśatriyās, i. e. even Pratilom marriages were allowed[60] upto his time. But as time went on, and as the Vedic religion began to influence the society more and more, as the prime-ministers of many kings belonged to that religion, the guilds became more and more conservative about Pratilom, and even about Anulom marriages. Mahāpadma had no faith in these restrictions, and as a Jaina king he wanted to set an example against them. Hence he himself married the daughter of śudra[61]. Many brahmins, who followed the Vedic religion, began to censure this step of the king very strongly[62]. In Matsya, Vāyu and other Purāṇās this act of the king was

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(60) We do not know what the public opinion might have been when Śreṇik married non-kshatriya girls. I think that God time began to exert His adverse influence after 523 B. C., as a result of which Anulom and Pratilom marriages came into question. Hence, at Śreṇik's time, people must not have raised such questions.

(61) In C. H. I. Prof. J. L. Carpentier says, "The Purāṇās know no break of political continuity between the Śiśunāgs and the Nands, but they recognize a great social and religious gulf which existed between the earlier and the later, and the flagrant violation of the caste law by the Nands, which placed Mahāpadma, (it ought to be Mahānand) the son of śudra woman on the throne".

Bud. Ind. pp 60 :—"Though the fact of frequent intermarriage is undoubted, though the great chasm between the proudest kshatriya on the one hand, and the lowest chaṇḍāl on the other, was bridged over by a number of imperceptible stages and the boundaries between the stages were constantly being overstepped, still there were also real obstacles to unequal unions".

Hitherto it is only known that he married a śudra girl. It is not settled whether he married one or two. I think he had two śudra queens. I have discussed this matter in separate paragraph.

Intercaste marriages were frequent even later on during the times of Chandragupta, Bindusār, Aśoka, who themselves married non-kshtriya girls: but they were not so strongly critizised by the people of those times. It is possible, the marriage with a śudra must have been specially objected by the people, or people might have become more tolerent after reign of Mahāpadma. (See f. n. no. 49 above).

(62) Paṇḍit Jayaswālji says, " It (Purān) saw the worst days under Mahāpadma". (J. O. B. R. S. Vol. III. pp. 257).

strongly criticized. By the time when these Purāṇās were written,[63] the Bauddha emperor Aśoka had already become a prominent character in the Bauddha books As Mahāpadma had done an act against the tenets of the Vedic religion, he was called the Kālāśoka (doer of evil deeds), or Aśoka I, while the later Aśoka, who followed Buddhism, was called Aśoka II.

Mahāpadma has been given two names by the Purāṇās and the Bauddha books : Aśoka I, and Kālāśoka. We shall examine below whether these names can be applied to him, and if they can be applied, when can they be applied ? and if any of them cannot be applied to him, to whom can it be applied ?

One other possibility

Aśoka I : This name is given by Bauddha writers. They might have given this name for the following reason : Aśoka was their greatest Bauddha king. During his reign the third religious conference of the Bauddhas was held, while the second was held during the reign of Mahāpadma. Hence they might have given him the name of Aśoka I, and to Aśoka Maurya, the name of Aśoka II, from the view point of time. We must here bear in mind that they might have given these names after Aśoka Maurya's time.

Kālāśoka : One of the Nanda kings is famous in history books by this name. We have to find out to whom this name properly belongs.

It is generally believed by scholars that Mahāpadma was given the name of Kālāśoka by brāhmins because he married a śudra girl against the tenets of the Vedic religion. That Mahāpadma was given the name of Kālāśoka (wicked Aśoka) for such marriage means, that at least Aśoka (Maurya) himself must not

(63) It is generally believed that the Purāṇās were written in the 4th century A. D.; while this event took place in the 5th century B. C. Thus there is an interval of nearly 1000 years between the event and its narration by the Purāṇās. Hence the authors of the Purāṇās were able to compare him with Aśoka. Cf. f. n. no 51 above.

have married any śudra or low-caste girl[64]. History tells us that he married the daughter of Yavana (Selucus Necator), whom the same brahmins considered lower than even śudrās. Hence, from the view-point of marriage with a low-class girl, Mahāpadma must not have been given this name.

The Jaina books are silent about this marriage of Mahāpadma, and they have not given him any such name. It might have been because they had no objection to such a marriage, or they might have been partial towards him because he was a Jaina king. But the second alternative is not probable, because they censured the wicked deeds of Śreṇik who was a greater Jaina than Mahāpadma.

The Purāṇās say that he was called Kālāśoka because he had slaughtered the kshatriyās[65], and because the Udhistira Era ended and the Kali Era began with his time. Looking to historical evidence such a slaughter has been made by Nand IX and not by Mahāpadma. Hence the name Kālāśoka must really be applied to Mahāpadma. (As far as I think Jaina books are silent about this cruel deed of Mahāpadma. I do not know why). If any Nanda king is given this name because of this slaughter, Aśoka (Maurya) can not be exempted from the name, because he had slaughtered even women, whom the Nanda king did not.

Out of the two names Dharmāśoka and Kālāśoka, the first can be applied to Mahāpadma, and the second can be applied to Mahānand, looking to the reasons given above. Just as two kings of the Nanda dynasty can be given such names, so two kings of the Maurya dynasty can also be given these names. Aśoka can be called Kālāśoka and his grandson Priyadarśin can

(64) In those times there were no castes. There were only guilds and the four classes. (See f. n. nos. 46, 48 in Chapter No. II) Supposing there were castes in those times, we can say that Śrenik married non-kshatriya girls, and gave his daughters in marriage to non-kshatriyas. Even Kārvel and Chandragupta did the same thing. Even Priyadarśin, who lived many years after Mahāpadma had married a daughter of the Āndhra dynasty, which is considered lower by the Purāṇās. Many other examples can be given. (See f. n. no. 59 above).

(65) See "The Book on Ancient Eras" by Sir Cunningham, and "The Dynastic list of the Kali Age" by Pārgiter.

be called Dharmāśoka. In Rājtarangiṇi a certain Dharmāśoka has been called the king of Kāśmir; that is the same as Priyadarśin. I have discussed this in detail in their account.

Thus there are two Dharmāśokas[66] and two Kālāśokas[67].

The information given below pertains partly to the Kaṇva dynasty, partly to the Āndhra dynasty, and partly to the Nanda dynasty. I have given it here, because it is chiefly connected with the Nanda dynasty, and because, as far as I know, it is not given in any history-book of these times. If this piece of information were divided in three parts, and each part were written in the chapter containg the account of the dynasty with which it is concerned, the unity of the whole would be disturbed, and the reader would find it difficult to connect them in a coherant whole.

A new fact in history

We have stated in the above written paragraph that king Mahāpadma had married a śudra queen. Historians are of the opinion that he had married only one śudra girl. As already stated in f. n. no. 60 above, I am inclined to believe that he had two śudra queens. I have stated below reasons for this belief.

We know that the kings of Śātvāhan dynasty ruled in southren India. The founder of this dynasty was Śrimukh. The coins[68] struck by Śrimukh and his succcessors prove, that they were followers of Jainism, and that they were connected with[69] the kings of the Nanda dynasty. The coins of Chutukānand and of Mulānand of southern Canera resemble the coins of the Āndhra kings, (Vide the chapter on coins) and we shall explain in their accounts given later on, that they were originally appointed as

(66) The first Dharmāśoka ruled for 28 years and the second ruled for 54 years. (If we include the period of 14 years before his coronation, he ruled for 68 years).

(67) The first Kālāśoka ruled for 43 years and the second ruled for 41 years. (Out of the 41, the real number is 27, because he has acted as a regent for 14 years).

(68) Vide the Chapter on Coins.

(69) Vide Chapter III, the accounts of Udāyan, Anurudhdha, and Nandivardhan.

governors of those provinces by the Nanda kings. They might have asserted their independence, or they might have become semi-independent during the rule of Mund. Thus the evidence of coins proves that the kings of Śātvāhan dynasty were connected with the kings of the Nanda dynasty. Moreover, the Śātvāhan dynasty was founded during the period of the reigns of the last seven Nanda kings.

Secondly, we know it to be a historical fact that a controversy as to who should succeed Mahāpadma on the throne, was raised after Mahāpadma's death. It was settled *in favour of the* sons born of kśatriya queens[70]. As a result, six sons born of the kśatriya queens came to the throne one after another. After their deaths, the son of the śudra queen became the emperor of Magadh as Nand IX. Some believe that the mother of Nand IX belonged to the barber's caste, while some others believe that she belonged to the washerman's caste.

Thirdly, it is generally agreed that king Śrimukh was born of a woman of low caste[71]. Again, Śrimukh was a contemporary of Nand IX[72]. All the three causes stated above lead one to the conclusion that Śrimukh must have been a son of Mahāpadma by his second śudra queen. Mahānand and Śrimukh could not have

(70) It is always the custom that the eldest son succeeds his father on the throne. That the question, who should succeed Mahāpadma on the throne, was at all *raised*, means that there must have at least been a son born of a non-kshatriya woman, who must have been elder than the sons born of the kshatriya women. Cf. in the account of Nand II, the paragraph entitled "His family".

It is not possible that this elder śudra son was the same who, in the end, came to the throne as Nand IX, because Nand IX was only 21–23 when he came to the throne, if he were the eldest, he must not have been only 11 at the time of Mahāpadma's death, and if we take him to be the eldest, the other six kshatriyās–sons must have been less than 11 at the time of Mahāpadma's death, which is absurd. Hence there must have been another śudra son, who must have been the eldest and the controversy about succession must have been raised on his behalf.

(71) Vide Vol. V for details about the Āndhra dynasty.

(72) Vide Chapter VI, details about Kaṇva dynasty, and f. n. no. 26 there.

been born of the same mother, because it has been proved that their mothers belonged to two different low castes[73]. Thus Mahāpadma had two śudra queens, one, the mother of Mahānand, and, other, the mother of Śrimukh.

When Mahānand came to the throne of Magadh, his age was 23 to 25. An astrologer had predicted about him that he would marry at the age of 23 to 25, and that at the time of his marriage he would be selected as the king of a great kingdom by a female elephant, as was the custom in those days, of selecting a king when the former king died heirless[74]. Śrimukh founded the Āndhra dynasty in 427 B. C. (or A. M. 100), at the age of twenty-five. Hence he must have been born in 427–25=452 B. C. Mahāpadma had come to the throne in 455 B. C. (A. M. 72). He must have married śudra women only after his father's death (455 B. C.). At the time of Mahāpadma's death (427 B. C. or A. M. 100) Mahānand was 11 years old, and Śrimukh was 25 years old. One would naturally ask why did he not get the throne after the death of his father? The answer is simple; he was not given the throne because he was born of a śudra queen. Śrimukh felt the sting of this insult, left Magadh with a brother of his[75], and founded a new dynasty and established a new kingdom which he won by his valour. In the neighbourhood of Magadh, there was the powerful kingdom of Khārvel, and Śrimukh had no means to raise his head against him. So he selected the southern regions as a field for his adventures.

I have stated above an altogether new theory, and I leave it to the reader's judgment.

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(73) Vide his account. His mother neither belonged to the barber's caste nor to the washerman's caste, while Mahānand's mother did belong to the barber caste.

Both the queens belonged to different śudra castes. Mahāpadma must have married Śrimukh's mother immediately after coming to the throne, and he must have married Mahānand's mother after the year of Buddha conference in 444 B. C.

(74) Vide the account of Nand IX.

(75) His brother's name was Krsna. For details vide the account of Āndhra dynasty.



Chapter V

Śiśunāga dynasty (contd.)

Synopsis:—*Nand III to Nand VIII—Their names and discussion about them—Mahāvir Era and discussion about it—Details about their reigns—Relations of Brhaspatimitra of Magadh.*

Nand IX—Mahānand—Explanation of his different names—a short account of his reign—His effort to bring to his kingdom the famous trio and its accomplishment—Śakḍāl as prime minister and Chānakya as his disciple—Distinction between Kātyāyan and Śaktāyan—Wicked deeds of the proud and cunning Varrūchi—Its results and the punishment he suffered from them—Rise of Chandragupta and fall of Mahānand—His family and his life.

NAND III to NAND VIII

After Nand II, his six sons born of the kṣtriya queen[1] came to the throne of Magadh one by one, as Nand III, Nand IV, and so on, upto Nand VIII. As yet, the names of these six kings are not known, but I think I have found them out, though I am not quite sure of their order of succession.

I shall state first how I got the names of these kings. Sir Cunningham in his "Coins of Ancient India,"[2] has described certain coins, which, though they have been found from United Provinces, are assigned by him to the kings of Kauśāmbī, because they bear the sign of a calf, which was the royal sign of those kings. He has further said that these coins belonged to small kings of the provinces from which they were found, and that these small kings were vassals of the kings of Kauśāmbī. Some of the names of these kings end in "Mitra", and hence he has concluded that these kings must have belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty, the names of many kings of which ended in Mitra, (Puṣyamitra ? Agnimitra etc.). A closer study of these coins reveals on them signs of chaityās and saṅghās, which belong to Jainism. As kings of Śuṅgā dynasty were followers of the Vedic religion, these coins must not have belonged to them. Hence these coins must have belonged to kings, who must have been under the vassalage of some Jaina kings. A still closer study of the same coins revealed on them some curved lines which the coin-experts call the sign of the serpent, which belonged to the Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties. This leads us to believe that these coins must have belonged to those Nanda kings under whose vassalage was the kingdom of Kauśāmbī including those small provinces from which the coins are found[3]. Coins having signs of large serpents belong to the senior Śiśunāga dynasty, and those having the sign of the small

(1) Some information about this queen is given in the account of Nand VIII.

(2) Vide Chapter on Kauśāmbī in C. A. I. Also vide Chapter II, Part III, Vol. II of this book.

(3) Consult C. A. I. by Sir Cuuingham. Also vide Chapter II, Part III, Vol. II of this book.

serpent belong to the junior Śiśunāga dynasty or the Nanda dynasty. Now we have to find out which of the Nanda kings were masters of Kauśāmbī, and to which kings these coins belong? We have proved in our account of Vatsa, that Nandivardhan or Nand I had annexed both Vatsa and Kauśāmbī to the kingdom of Magadh in M. E. 60 or 467 B. C. They continued to be under the rule of the Nanda kings throughout the whole dynasty. Hence the names which are found on these coins must belong to one of the Nanda kings. Now we know that the name of the first Nanda king was Nandivardhan, that of the second was Mahāpadma, and that of the ninth was Mahānand. Hence the names on these coins must be of the rest of the Nanda kings, because none of the above-given three names is found on them. On one of the coins is found the name Brhaspatimitra. In the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions, it is stated that Khārvel had twice invaded Magadh, and on the second invasion, which took place thirteen years after his accession to the throne, he had defeated a king of Magadh named Bṛhaspatimitra. This Bṛhaspimitra and the Brhaspatimitra whose name is given in the coins, must be one and the same individual as the number given in Hāthīgumfā inscriptions proves it. In the inscription, number 103 denotes the fifth year after Khārvel's accession to the throne. Thus Khārvel must have ascended the throne in 98. The same inscription tells us that Khārvel had defeated Śrimukh, the founder of the Śātvāhan dynasty, 2 years after his accession to the throne. Śrimukh had founded his dynasty in 100, and Khārvel defeated him in 98+2=100. Now we have to find out, which era is denoted by these numbers like 103, 100, 98 and others, and what was the number of Bṛhaspatimitra in the Nanda line. We know that Nand IX ruled from 112 to 155= 43 years. This means that thirteen years after Khārvel's accession to the throne (i. e. in 98+13=111) the eighth Nanda king must have been on the throne, and that must have been Bṛhaspatimitra, who was defeated by Khārvel. Thus Bṛhaspatimitra was the eighth Nanda king and his reign ended in 112. The era which these numbers denote is the Mahāvīr era which I have frequently used in this book in comparison with the Christian era. The

numbers of Mahāvīr era connected with the Nanda line also agree with the numbers given in the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions. Some might doubt and say, that these numbers belong to the Nanda dynasty, as their name is connected with the incident of canal-digging by Khārvel. Some others might say that, as these numbers are found in the inscriptions by Khārvel, they might as well belong to the Chedi dynasty to which Khārvel belonged. In answer to the first objection we might say that the Nanda dynasty was founded in 472 B. C. or 55 A. M. E. When Khārvel invaded it in 416 B. C., the number according to Nanda era must be 472–416=56. But the number given in the inscription is 103, which proves that, that number does not belong to the Nanda dynasty. In answer to the second objection we might say that, as given in the account of Kaliṅg in the previous pages, this dynasty must have been founded either in 558 B. C. or in 556 B. C. or in 475 B. C. If we deduct the year 416 B. C. from these, one by one, we get the numbers 142, 140 and 59. This proves that the numbers like 103 do not belong to the Chedi dynasty either. (We shall discuss this in details in the account of the Chedi dynasty). This proves that the number 103 does neither belong to the Nanda dynasty nor the Chedi dynasty but to Mahāvīr, the founder of Jainism, to which both Khārvel and Nanda kings belonged. Kings in those times never desired to begin eras in their own names; they began an era in the name of a great preceptor of their religion.

To summarise, (1) The coins found from the United Provinces belong to those kings of Magadh who were also masters of Kauśāmbī; (2) These kings of Magadh belonged to the Nanda dynasty; (3) The numbers like 103 used in the Hāthīgumfā inscriptions denote the Mahāvīr era[4]; (4) Śrimukh, Khārvel, and Brhaspatimitra of Magadh were contemporaries; (5) Śrimukh came to the throne in

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(4) Vide the account of Nandivardhan. Also cf. this, with the account of Khārvel, and of Hāthīgumfā inscriptions.

Most people are not aware of the existence of Mahāvīr Era, and its use in Hāthīgumfā inscriptions. It is a credit to Jains, but few Jains might be knowing it.

A, M. 100; Khārvel invaded Magadh in A. M. 111; (6) Śātvāhan dynasty began in A. M. 100; (7) Bṛhaspatimitra was the eighth Nanda king.

These six Nanda kings ruled from A. M. 100 to A. M. 112; and their reigns were politically unimportant. We know their names; but we do not know their order of succession.

The twelve[5] years of the rule of these six kings were years of misrule and anarchy. Six descendants of Kalpak, who was the prime-minister of Nandivardhan, acted as prime-minister one by one. We do not know for how many yearsout of these total of 12; everyone of these kings ruled. We know that Brhaspatimitra, the eighth king, was on the throne from A M. 110 to 112 or 417 to 415 B. C. because Hāthīgumfā inscription tells us that in the second year of his rule (which comes to A. M. 111 counting from the succession of Khārvel in 98, (111-98=13), he was invaded by Khārvel, who took away from Magadh, the Jaina idol which was brought of Kaliṅg many years ago[6], and who established with pomp and procession the same idol in a majestic temple in his capital.

Further details about their reigns

We do not know how these six kings died within such a short time.

Thus we have finished the account of the eight sons of Mahāpadma[7].

Scholars are of the opinion that a foreign invader, who, having heard of the conquest of Khārvel over Magadh, returned to his country from Mathurā, without further invading the country was Demetrius. In the acconnt of Khārvel I will prove that this is an erroneous belief.

In 1911 A. D. some bricks have been excavated near places named Maurā and Ganeśa in U. P. The words on these

(5) C. H. I. pp. 312, see the list based on Purānās, given there.

(6) See Hāthīgumfā inscriptions.

(7) We have stated that Śrimukh and Śri-Kṛṣṇa went away from Magadh and we have given their account; we have given above the account of other six sons.

bricks[8] give us to understand that Bṛhaspatimitra had a daughter named Yaśomatī, who was married to the king of Mathurā.

Something more about Bṛhaspatimitra

Bṛhaspatimitra must have been at least 45 at the time of the marriage of his daughter. This conclusion is supported by the fact that he was the youngest of the six kshatriya sons of Mahāpadma, and that Mahānand,who was younger than Brhaspatimitra, was 21–23 at the time of his accession to the throne. Again, it has been found[9] that Asāḍhsen the king of Ahichhatra the capital of Pañchāl; was the maternal uncle of Bṛhaspatimitra, thus proving that Aṣāḍhṣen's sister was married to Mahāpadma. It is possible that the six kshatriya sons might have been born of her. These facts also prove that the kings of Magadh, Pañchāl and Mathurā gave their daughters in marriage to each other[10].

(9) NAND IX, MAHĀNAND, DHAN-NAND

When king Mahāpadma died, the question was raised as to who should succeed him to the throne, and we know that the ministers had decided in favour of the eldest kshatriya son, thus ignoring the right of the eldest son, because he was born of a śudra queen. We know how these six kshatriya sons, succeeded one another, and how all of them died within 12 years leaving no heir behind them. Hence, after the death of the last son, Bṛhaspatimitra, the same question was again raised as to who should come to the throne next. There was yet living a son of Mahāpadma, but he was also born of a śudra woman; and hence the ministers did not elect him to the throne, as they had for the same reason not elected the former and the eldest son, who had by this time established a powerful empire in the south, and from whom the ministers feared an invasion if they selected the

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(8) See the special number on Archæology, of "Gaṅgā", Jan. 1933. It is written there. Jīvaputāye rājbharyāye Bṛhāsvāti mitidhitu Yaśamataye Kāritaṃ meaning—"made by Yashomati, the daughter of Bṛhaspatimitra, and the wife of the king of Mathurā".

(9) See A. I. Vol. II pp. 242.

(10) Cf. the example of Śrenik's mother who was a Bhattiya queen, who was a daughter of the king of this country.

other śudra son to the throne. After a long deliberation the council of ministers decided to accept that person as the king, who would be garlanded by the female elephant who was made to go round the whole city with Pāñchdivya[11].

On the other hand, an astrologer, who knew before-hand by his astrological calculations that the son of the śudra queen was to become a king in future, gave his daughter in marriage to him, and the wedding procession with the boy on a decorated horse, with a following of men behind, crossed the progress of the female elephant on her way. The female elephant naturally garlanded the boy[12], because she saw him king-like riding a horse in his best clothes, and with a large following, and with all the pomp and show befitting a king. Thus this śudra son[13] of Mahāpadma came to the throne of Magadh as Nand IX.

His various names

As he was ninth in order of succession, he was called Nand IX. He was also called Mahānand because his reign was the longest of all the Nanda kings, and because many important events took place during his reign. The name Dhan-nand was given to him on account of his inordinate greed for wealth which he had hoarded throughout by fair means or foul. The Magadha empire was much expanded by him, and Bauddha books have called it "Mahāmandal"[14] (large empire), and they have called him "Ugrasen"[15] (possessing a terrible army). In Purāṇās he is called Prachaṇḍanand[16] (Nand the cruel, or Nand the atrocious), because he had

(11) A Pāñchadivya consisted of, "A silver jug filled with water, a garland of flowers, a royal umbrella (Chhatra), and two royal fans".

(12) Mahānand has got this scene embossed on his coins (Vide his pictures)

(13) Pariśiṣṭa Parva Sarga VII, Chapter 18. "His ministers did not respect him because he was a barber by caste" See below f. n. no. 17.

(14) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 89 ff. "One king-empire under a single umbrella". It is distinguished in Divyāvdān as Mahā-maṇḍal.

(15) F. n. no. 40. Chapter VI. "The military prowess of king Nandivardhan seems to have been fully inherited by him.

(16) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 89 and further. (stated on the authority of Bhaviṣya-purān).

exercised much cruelty and had ruthlessly killed many officers of his kingdom[17] who showed slight respect for him[18] because he was a Śudra. Both these last names must have been given to him in order to compare him with Chaṇḍapradyot of Avanti[19]. As we have proved in the account of Mahāpadma, he can also be called Kālāśoka[20]. Thus he had, in all, six names:—(1) Nand IX, (2) Mahānand, (3) Dhan–nand, (4) Ugrasen, (5) Prachaṇḍa–nand, and (6) Kālāśoka.

The extent of his territory

From the very first he had begun to deal with a firm hand in all the affairs of his kingdom. After establishing internal peace with the help of his able minded prime–minister Sakadāl, he directed his attention towards expanding his territory and hoarding up wealth—his favourite pursuits. Hitherto, the kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty always extended their territory by conquering the countries of southern India. Nandivardhan was the first to invade and conquer countries of northern India; yet he could not subdue countries like the Punjāb and Kāśmir[21]. Mahānand conquered the Punjāb, (then called Camboj Raṣṭra) which had been under the sway of the Persian emperors for a century and a half in 405 B. C. or A. M. 122, and put it under the governorship of a hindu chief[22].

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(17) Pārgiter's "Dynasties". pp. 69, "Born of a śudra woman will exterminate all kshatriyās: he will be sole monarch, bringing all under his sole sway, a Brahmin Kautilya will uproot them all".

(18) See f. n. no. 13 above.

(19) As to how this king got the two names. Chaṇḍa–pradyot, and Mahsen, vide the account of Avanti.

(20) See further.

(21) Vide Chapter VI, cf. f. n. no. 22 below.

(22) His coins are also found in Taxilā (Vide C. A. I. pp. 65) "Where", says Sir Cunningham, " all the coins are found together. (Kauśāmbī and Taxilā) They must have been current at the same time, but as the greater number are of the Indian standard, I infer that they must belong to the indegenous coinage prior to the Greek occupation".

The Greeks had invaded India for the first time in 327 B. C. That the coins of Kauśāmbī and Taxilā have been found from the same place shows

He brought a great amount of wealth to his treasury from this country; but he is famous in history as the king, who brought to his university the learned trio of Pāṇini, Varrūchi, and Chāṇakya. He thought it unwise to attempt the conquest of any of the countries situated on the east coast of southern India, because they were under the power of emperor Khārvel. In the central and western portions of the peninsula his own brothers had established their kingdom[23] (Śrimukh, the founder of the Śātavāhan dynasty, and Śrikṛṣṇa), and hence he gave up the idea of conquering them. The rest of his time he spent in consolidating his empire.

The learned trio

Of the learned trio, Pāṇini is famous as a great grammarian, Chāṇakya is considered to be a great authority in economics and politics, and Varrūchi who is better known by the name of Kātyāyan[24], his family name, though less famous than the other two. has

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that one king ruled both these provinces. Kauśāmbī was under the rule of Magadh from 467 B. C., which means that Taxilā region must have been conquered by the king of Magadh.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 80 :—"But Ktesiās (B. C. 416 to 398), when writing, speaks not of the Indians only, but also of the king of India. By this time the Persian domination had ended and it must have thus ended between 450 B. C. and 400 B. C.". I have stated above that Mahānand conquered this country in 405 B. C.

Ibid. pp. 80 :—"When Herodotus was in India in 450 B. C., he heard the account of how gold was produced in large quantities in India; the impression received from this is, that India was still under and had to send gold to the Achaeminion Emperor".

The above-given statement gives us to understand that upto 450 B. C., this country was under the power of Persian emperors. Their power thus must have ended between 450 and 400 B. C. The period of the rule of Nandivardhan being 472 to 456, this could not have taken place during his reign; while Mahāpadma never invaded that country. Hence this country was conquered by Mahānand.

Cf. the details given in Chaprer VI, and f. n. no. 38 below.

(23) Both Mahānand and Śrimukh were born of the śudra queens of Mahāpadma.

(24) There was a great grammarian named Śāktāyan, who is often quoted by Patañjali. Is this Śākṭāyan the same as Kātyāyan ? or is Śākṭāyan a crude form of Kātyāyan ?

earned lasting fame by writing an authoritative commentary on the grammar of Pāṇini[25].

We shall first try to fix their native places. A writer says[26], "Pāṇini's birth-place was in Gonārd where the river Kābul flows into the Indus". Another says[27], "His predecessor Nand (II) is implied to have extended his kingdom upto the native-place of Pāṇini, and thus Taxilā was brought into close touch with Pātliputra". The same writer says further[28] "Nand had defeated king Pilu (Piṣtu) of Piśāchās (I think the writer means thereby the Afghān king of that time; the language of the Afghāns is at present even known as Pustu, perhaps a corrupt form of Piṣtu) in his power". We may take this to mean that Mahānand's political influence extended to the north-western frontiers of India. A third writer says[29], "Pāṇini used ancient Persian words". Modern writers are of the opinion that numerous words of the Kharoṣṭi language are found in the grammar of Pāṇini. A fourth writer says[30], "Many writers are of the opinion that Chāṇakya was not an Ārya[31]". This means that Chāṇakya's birth-place was outside India. The above-given opinions taken together lead us to the following conclusions (1) Pāṇini's birth-place was Gonārd which was on the west of the Indus, (2) that region was situated on the west-coast of India; it was inhabited by Piśāchās who spoke the Puṣtu tongue, and whose king's name was Pilu or Piṣtu.

There are other facts which support our conclusion. We

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(25) See f. n. no. 31 below.

(26) Dey's Ancient Geography of India pp. 16.

(27) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 82.

(28) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 82; f. n. no. 82.

(29) Prof. Hultzsch. (Aśoka Inscri. Vol. I. Intro. XLIII f. n. no. 8).

(30) "Maurya Sāmrājya Kā Itihās" by Vidyābhūṣaṇ of Kāṅgḍi Gurukul.

(31) Pāṇini and Chāṇakya are spoken of as contemporaries on the one hand, and Pāṇini and Varrūchi are spoken as contemporaries on the other (f. n. no. 36 Paṇḍit Tārānāth's opinion). Thus proving that all the three were contemporaries. See f. n. no. 44.

know that Pāṇini has used many words of both the Kharosṭi as well as Persian languages. An inscription by Priyadarśin, situated in that region, contains many words of the Kharosṭi language, thus proving that the Kharosṭi was the language spoken by the people inhabiting that region. Again our knowledge about the Kharosṭi chiefs[32] who had invaded India, leads us to the same conclusion. This reign was also under the power of the Persian emperor for 150 years, during which time many Persian words must have found their way in the Kharosṭi language[33]. That Pāṇini's grammer contains words from both the languages proves that he was born in Gonārd[34].

Chāṇakya and Varrūchi too must have been born in the same region, as all the three were pals from their very childhood.

Now we shall try to fix up their time. One writer says[35]. "His (Pāṇini's) time was 350 B. C. according to Bohtalingk, though Goldstucker and Bhāṇdārker place him before Buddha". This means that Pāṇini lived at least before the 3rd century B. C. Another writer says[36] "It is thus evident that the Nand, the reputed contemporary and patron of Pāṇini of the popular story is really Mahānand, (Nand the great). Tārānāth places Varrūchi, the author of Vibhās under the next reign". (For confusion about Mahāpadma and Mahānand, vide the account of Mahāpadmā). The above-given statement gives us to understand that both Pāṇini and Varrūchi lived during the reigns of Nanda kings. The confusion which has resulted from the belief that Mahāpadma and Mahānand were the names of one and the same individual, has already been explained in the account of Mahāpadma.

Keeping in mind the fact that Chāṇakya, Pāṇini, and Varrūchi were contemporaries let us turn to the time of Chāṇakya.

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(32) Vide the account of Bactrians in Vol. III for details.

(33) Cf. f. n. no. 22 above, and the account of Kamboj-Gāndhār in Chapter III.

(34) Some believe that birth-place of Patañjali too was Gonārd. The fact is that his birth place was Gaud.

(35) Chr. Ind. By M. Duff. pp. 7.

(36) J. O. B. R. S. pp. 82.

We know that Chāṇakya was a prime-minister of Chandragupta Maurya. It might have been possible that the difference between their ages might have been from 40 to 50 years. As Chandragupta had founded the Maurya dynasty after defeating the last Nanda king, Nand IX, who ruled for 43 years, Chāṇakya could not have lived earlier than the time of Nand IX,[37–38]. As Pāṇini and Varrūchi were contemporaries and pals of Chāṇakya, they must have all lived at the same time.

The aim of bringing this trio into his kingdom and its realization

Mahānand's other name was Dhan-nand because he had the habit of hoarding money. Some say that he had piled up five, and some say that he had piled up nine, heaps of gold[39]. He must have kept them underground, because Agnimitra of the Śuṅga dynasty had got the whole town excavated in order to get this gold, when he conquered this city[40]. Some historians say that he was a miser, and that he collected gold because he was greedy. I am of the opinion that he collected gold for using it in a very noble cause. Had he been a miser, he would not have been nicknamed Dhan-nand, but Lobhi-nand (Nand the avaricious). That king Agnimitra did not get much gold as a result of his excavations, and that Chandragupta Maurya was badly in need of finances[41], at the beginning of his

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(37) He might have been born before the time of Nand II, but the time of his career was not earlier than the reign of Nand IX.

(38) "Not earlier", i. e. during the reign of Nand IX. That this trio was brought from the Punjāb by Nand IX, means that he must have conquered the Punjāb, and not Nandivardhan. Cf. f. n. no. 36 in the account of Nandivardhan.

(39) We do not know how much gold was contained by one such heap. It is clear that he must have possessed an immense amount of wealth, which would have been impossible to weigh. Modern readers would think this to be an exaggeration; but they should remember that Śreṇik had found several rooms full of gold dust at the merchant's house in Bennātaṭ, and that the Persian emperors took away every year boxes full of gold as tribute.

(40) Vide the account of the Śuṅga dynasty.

(41) Some one would say that Chandragupta's finances ran low because he allowed Dhan-nand to quit Pāṭliputra with as much gold as he could

reign, prove that Dhan-nand must have used up most of his hoarded gold before his death.

We know that Takśilā, the famous seat of the university of that name, was in the Punjāb. When Mahānand conquered the Punjāb, it must have come under his power. That this learned trio was brought from the Punjāb, means that they must have been connected with the Takśilā university before Mahānand brought them to the Nālandā university; and they must have been famous as professors of the Takśilā university to be chosen by Mahānand.

There were two famous seats of university in ancient India, the university of Takśilā in the Punjāb and the university of Nālandā, near Pātliputra, the capital of Magadh. We do not know which came into existence first, though Bauddha books say that the university of Nālandā existed at the time of Lord Buddha. Jaina books are silent about it; hence it must have been in its childhood during the time of Lord Buddha, or it must have represented Bauddha literature only during that time, or it must have been founded even after the time of Lord Buddha[42]; and the authors of Bauddha books, which were written much later after the establishment of the Bauddha religion, must have introduced its name and connected it with the time of Lord Buddha, either through oversight, or just to show that Buddhism was connected with such a famous university. Truly speaking the university of Nālandā first became famous, and flourished fully during the time of Mahānand. As Mahānand was a Jain, he must

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carry. Here it might be made clear that he was allowed to carry away with him as much as he could in a single chariot and he must have naturally selected precious jewels and gems rather than gold. He could not have carried with him his 5 or 9 hill-like heaps of gold. This means that Dhan-nand has spent his hoarded wealth during his reign.

(42) In very ancient times there was no written literature. (Vide Chapter VII). Pupils committed everything to memory. Written literature began from the time of Mahānand and his contemporary Khārvel.

Words on coins are found from these times onwards, not before these times. (See the coins of Nand in Vatsa; the coins bearing names of Nand III to Nand VIII).

have taken care to develop the study of Jaina literature in it. He must have given preference to Nālandā, over his own capital, for the seat of the university, (Nālandā was about twenty miles away from Pāṭliputra), in order that students might live in a pure environment, away from the vile influence of a crowded city, where there would not be enough space for boarding, lodging, games, and other activities of university life. Thus we can see that Dhan–nand very carefully selected the sight for the university–town, keeping in mind all ideas about proper enviornment for students; and that he freely spent[43] his hoarded money for such a noble purpose.

These three learned men must have begun their work in the university of Nālandā from 404 B. C. e. g. A. M. 123.

Śakḍāl[44], a descendant of Kalpak the prime–minister of

(43) In Jaina books it is said that Mahānand gave one hundred thousand coins to any one who recited before him a newly–composed poem. This shows his love for learning, his own knowledge and his readiness to appreciate and encourage learning.

Varrūchi tried to get money by composing verses in this way, but he was prevented from getting anything for them by the prime–minister Śakḍāl in the following way :—Śakḍāl had seven daughters. His eldest daughter had such a powerful memory that she could faultlessly reproduce any verse that was spoken only once. His second daughter could reproduce any verse which was recited twice, his third daughter could reproduce any verse which was recited thrice, aud so on upto his seventh daughter. When Varrūchi approached Mahānand with any new verse, Śakḍāl kept his seven daughters present in the assembly. When Varrūchi recited a verse, his eldest daughter immediately reproduced it, then his second daughter reproduced it because she had heard twice, and so on upto his seventh daughter. Śakḍāl thus convinced Mahānand that the verse was an old one, as his seven daughters could easily reproduce it, and thus prevented him from giving anything to Varrūchi. He did not do this, out of any personal spite towards Varrūchi but as a prime–minister he believed that it was his duty to prevent the king from thus emptying his treasure into the coffers of such learned men, leaving nothing for administrative expenses, maintenance of army, and many other things for the upkeep of the empire. Varrūchi bore a grudge against him, and at last got him murdered by the king. (See the next Paragraph).

(44) Asia Res. V. pp. 264 :—Śakāter. The Purānās state his name to be Śakaṭār; some Jaina books pronounce it as Śakadāla.

Nandivardhan, became the prime-minister[45] of Mahānand, a few years after the latter's accession to the throne. Those three learned men, who were brought to Nālandā in 404 B C., had fascinated the mind of the king; wherefore they were allowed to enter the palace of the king; and see him any time they liked. Out of these three, Pāṇini devoted himself solely to learning, and never bothered his head with politics; while Chāṇakya and Varrūchi took an active part in politics, and wrote books on it[46].

Śakḍāl as prime-minister and Chāṇakya as his disciple

Chāṇakya helped Śakdāl on and often in the administration of the empire. Once he went to the palace of the king to get some help for a social function which was to take place in his family[47]. The king was busy at this time, but his three sons were playing in the assembly hall. The youngest son-about seven years old, spoke insultingly to Chāṇakya who was in rags. Chāṇakya was by nature of an irritable temper. He took this insult seriously, took a vow[48] there and then to exterminate the whole Nanda race[49], and went out of the palace instantaneously.

"Maurya Sāmrājya kā Itihās" pp. 95. "The name of Nand's prime-minister was akaṭār".

H. H. pp. 112. "Satakār was the name of Nand's prime-minister". On pp. 503 of the same book it is written, "Kātyāyan, the critic of Pāṇini, was his prime-minister". I think this contradiction is due to oversight. "It is true Kātyāyan had spared no efforts to obtain the prime-ministership, but his efforts were unsuccessful".

(45) See f. n. no. 44 above.

(46) Chāṇakya's "Arthśāstra" is read with interest to-day. He derived his knowledge from Śakḍāl under whom he worked as a disciple. Varrūchi has written a book entitled "Vibhās", and other books also.

(47) For details vide Pariśiṣṭaparva.

(48) After his vow he always kept his hair loose and uncombed.

(49) He took a vow to exterminate the whole race of Nands because the king's son insulted him and this he had done with the help of Chandragupta: this proves that Chandragupta did not belong to Nanda family.

He left Magadh also. Thus Śakdāl lost a valuable assistant in political and administrative affairs.

Now Varrūchi began to try to get the position of Chāṇakya[50]; but being narrow-minded by nature, he began to envy the power of Śakdāl[51]. He began to find out tricks[52] to ruin Śakḍāl. Some of his tricks were known by the king who began to dislike him[53]. Varrūchi began to drink wine heavily and became a ruffian. By this time Śakḍāl's daughter's marriage ceremony was to take place, and he began to get nice weapons manufactured at his place in order to give them a present to the king on this occassion. Varrūchi saw his opportunity, and sent word to the king that Śakḍāl was planning to kill the king by calling him home on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of his daughter, and if the king wanted to ascertain the truth of his message, he might send his spies secretly to the place of Śakḍāl, where weapons were being manufactured for the purpose. The king did so and the spies informed him that weapons were being manufactured at the place of Śakdāl. Mahānand began to show his dislike towards Śakdāl who understood everything. After the marriage ceremony was over, he told his eldest son Śriyak, who was then the head of the bodyguards of the king, to kill him by the blow of a sword on his neck when he would bend it to salute the king in the assembly; and if the king asked the cause of it, he should say that he had done it because his father was planning against the life of the king, and that as his bodyguard it was his duty to kill those who had any designs against the king's life, be they his nearest relatives[54]. Thus Śakḍāl sacrificed

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(50) Cf. f. n. no. 44 above.

(51) Varrūchi was of an envious nature from the first. As long as Chāṇakya was in Pāṭliputra he checked his wicked actions. During his absence there was none to check him.

(52) For details vide Pariśiṣṭaparva, or Bharateśvara B. V. Translation pp 47 onwards.

(53) For one of such actions vide f. n. no. 43 above.

(54) Śakdāl had kept in his mouth a kind of poison which he swallowed immediately before the stroke of the sword, thus saving him from the sin of patricide. For details vide Bharateśvara B. V. Translation pp. 48-49.

his life in order to save the ruin of his family. The king appointed Śriyak as his prime-minister, as Śriyak's elder brother Sthulibhadrajı[55] became a Jaina monk seeing that the cause of his father's death was prime-ministership, which was full of sins. This event took place in 381 B. C. or 146 A. M. Varrūchi was very much pleased at the death of Śakdal, but once when Śriyak told the king the real cause of his father's death the king drove Varrūchi out of his kingdom. Śriyak, at the age of 35, became a Jaina monk[55], in about 374 B. C. or A. M. 153. Thus Nand lost his valuable advisers one by one.

Birth of Chandragupta and the end of Mahānand's reign

Chāṇakya, having taken his vow, left Magadh[56] in 397 B. C. or 130 A. M. On the way, he put up at the house of a mayūraposak (tamer of peacocks) whose daughter, named Murā, was pregnant. Chāṇakya fulfilled her dohada[57] (or desires felt by women during the period of pregnancy), on condition that, if a son were born to her, he should be allowed to take away the boy whenever he wanted to do so. After some time, she gave birth to a son, who is known in history as Chandragupta[58]. When he was about 14, Chāṇakya took him away, and proclaimed him king of a small hilly region on the outskirts of Magadh, with the help of the wild people inhabiting that region, in 382 B. C. or A. M. 145. Thus Chandragupta can be said to have founded the Maurya dynasty in 382 B. C. In other eight years Chāṇakya gathered strength and extended the territory of Chandragupta.

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(55) Sthulibhadrajı and Śriyakji became disciples of Śayyambhavasūri, who died in 156 A. M. This means that Śriyakji must have become a Jaina monk two or three years before 156 A. M. which fits in with the dates fixed by us.

(56) Of the trio, Chāṇakya left Magadh, and Varrūchi was driven out. We do not know what happened to Pāṇini. He must have died during the reign of Mahānand, otherwise his name would have somewhere been mentioned in the accounts of Chandragupta.

(57) This proves that Nand was not in any way connected with Murā. Chandragupta could not have been the son of Nand. Cf. f. n. no. 63 below.

(58) For details vide the account of Chandragupta.

By this time Nand had become about 60, and he had no good and efficient ministers by his side[59]. Vakradev (Vakragriv), son of Khārvel, was the master of Chedi and the hilly region about it[60]. Chāṇakya induced him to help him on his invasion on Magadh[61], on condition that he would be given half of the spoils of war. (As to how this division of spoils was made, vide the account of Chandragupta). The combined armies of Vakragriv and Chāṇakya defeated Mahānand, who was forced to quit[62] Magadh with as much wealth as he could carry in his chariot (372 B. C. or 155 A. M.). He must have spent the remaining years of his life as a rich private individual. Chandragupta thus became the emperor of Magadh.

His family and his age

We do not know how many queens he had married. We only know that he had married the daughter of an astrologer at the time of his accession to the throne. He had three sons, who were respectively 12, 10, and 8 years in the year when Chāṇakya was insulted in A. M. 130. Thus they must have been born in A. M. 118, 120, and 122 or B. C. 409, 407, and 405 respectively. At the time of Mahānand's defeat they must have been 37, 35 and 33 years old. Nand's daughter[63] married Chandragupta in A. M. 155, when she

(59) That Chāṇakya could easily plunder the people and gather strength without in any way being retaliated by Nand, means that he and his army were deteriorating in strength and efficiency.

(60) This region was on the south-east of Revā and on the north-west of Orissā.

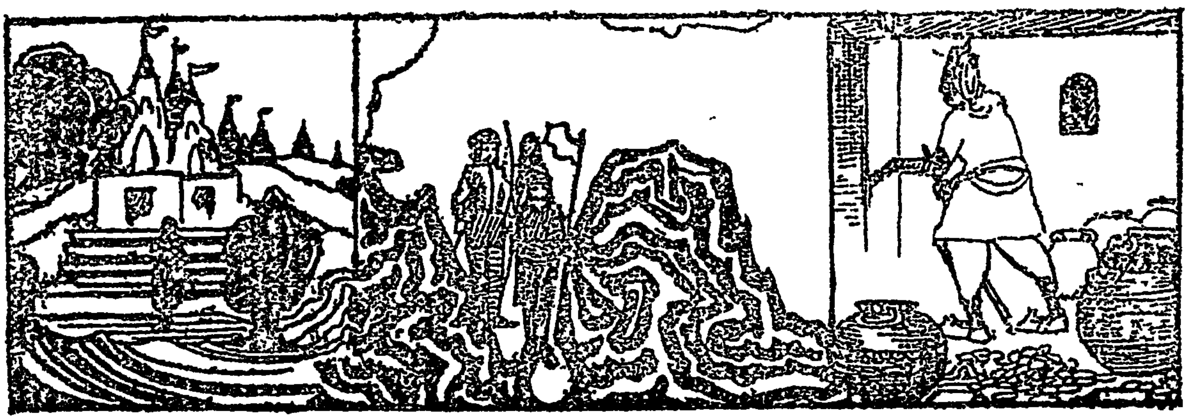
(61) This means that the king of Kaling was a powerful independent king, and Magadha empire had no power over western or southern India.

(62) From this it will be clear that Nand was not killed as some believe. For details vide the account of Chandragupta.

(63) Thus Chandragupta was a son-in-law of Nand, and not his son (Cf. f. n. no. 57 above). Thus the statements of Kalpasūtra Com. pp. 127, of Pariśiṣṭa-parva, and of Mudrārakṣas, that he was Mahānand's son, are wrong. That he succeeded Mahānand on the throne does not necessarily mean that he was his son. Again, a different name would not have been given to his dynasty, had he been his son. See also f. n. no. 49.

must have been 14 to 15 years old. Thus she must have been born in about 141 A. M., or 386 B. C.

When Nand ascended the throne, in A. M. 112 he was about 21 to 23 years old. Thus he must have been born in 89 to 91 A. M. He had to quit Magadh in A. M. 155 hence he must have ruled for 43 years; he must have been 65 at the time of his quitting Magadh. Thus Mahānand's reign was the longest of all the reigns of Nands.



Chapter VI

Extents of the territories of the kings of the Nāga dynasty

Synopsis:—*Reason why a separate chapter is devoted to this—Another condition—Designs of Nature.*

Meaning of the word "Anga—Magadh"—which was familiar in the time of Śreṇik—situation of Champānagarī which was made capital by Ajātśatru—who first made his way into southern India—Udāyan's care for the discipline and organization of his army—Its results–Career of Anurudhdha as heir apparent—Epidemic in Magadh—Establishment of the Nanda dynasty—Meaning of the word, "Nandivardhan"— Mahāpadma—an account of his reign—What Magadh lost during reign of six kings from Nand III to Nand VIII—Comparison between Mahānanda and Parśurām, the destroyer of Kśatriyas—his hoardings and his love for learning—Revival of the University of Nālandā and the good use of his hoardings made by Mahānanda—Nicknames given to various kings of the senior and the junior Śiśunāga dynasties.

In writing this chapter, I have departed from the general custom observed by most writers of history of giving an account of the conquests, defeats, as well conquests of the territory of every king, in the account of the king, and not separately. I admit that this custom has its advantages It makes the reading of history interesting, and it gives a complete account of every king. But it has its disadvantages too. It is not possible to link the conquests and the defeats, (and their influence on society) of every king with his predecessors and successors without making the account of every king unnecessarily lengthy and tedious. If we do not do so, the reader does not get a proper and correct idea of the conquests and the defeats and their influence on society of a whole dynasty; or to do so he has to strain his memory and do the work of linking himself. Hence the decision to write a separate chapter.

Cause of departure

Some one might ask the reason why I did not write a separate chapter at the end of Part I. In answer to this I might say that there, my aim was to give a short account of the sixteen different kingdoms of India, on which different dynasties ruled at different times. Again, the account I have given there, is concerned with pre-historic times, of which we do not get a connected account supported with facts, as we get of the periods later on[1]. Before the beginning of the fifth Ārā in 523 B. C. (and I have given the accounts of those 16 kingdoms generally upto that time) kings had no desire to increase the extent of their territory[2] or hoard up wealth, just as the kings after that period did, due to the influence of god time[3]. Moreover, the conquests and defeats of these dynasties do not affect India as a whole, while those of the Śiśunāga and Nanda kings do. Upto the end

(1) Vide chapter I, Part I.

(2) Vide f. n. no. 11 in Chapter I Part I.

(3) For this reason only, it was believed that there were real kingdoms in north India, south India was considered Anārya (uncivilized). These sixteen kingdoms had a federal system of government among them. For details vide Purātattva Vol. II.

of the reign of Śreṇik, people were happy, and the sixteen kingdoms remained intact. During that transitional period from the fourth Ārā into the fifth, Śreṇik, with help of Abhaya-kumār, and inspired by Lord Mahāvīr, formed all the guilds, which exist in India even to-day, with changes necessitated by changes in times, and the general outlook of society[4].

Five years after the death of Śreṇik, the fifth Ārā began, and Ajātśatru, his son, under its influence, spent his whole life in extending his territory, as a result of which he lost his life in the Vindhyā ranges trying to find a way to south India, which had been hitherto unexplored[5].

BIMBISĀR OR ŚREṆIK

Śreṇik had devoted the latter part of his life in forming guilds. Again he was lover of peace[6] and had felt no longing to increase his territory as he was not influenced by fifth Ārā. But he had waged wars against the kings of Kośal for a decade and a half, in order to gratify his family pride. He rested only when he lowered the family pride of the king of Kośal by marrying his daughter Kauśalyādevī himself, and by getting his son married with the daughter of Vidurath, son of the king of Kośal. He also had taken away by force Chillanā, the daughter of king Cheṭak of Mithilā. Thus we see that he waged wars for the sake of women[7] and not for the sake of land.

The other kingdoms that were in the neighbourhood of Magadh, were those of Kāśī[8], Aṅga, and Kauśāmbī. Of these, he was by the right of descent the master of Kāśī, and on the

(4) Vide Chapter II Part I. Para entitled "General descriptions".

(5) Vide the account of his death in Chapter III, Part II. The incident of his death supports our belief in spiritualism as against materialism. On account of the influence of God time, people have little faith in things spiritual, because they refuse to believe in anything which does not convince their reason. (Vide the account of the Maurya dynasty).

(6) Vide f. n. no. 24 Chapter II on pp. 256.

(7) Cf. f. n. nos. 7 and 11 in Chapter I, Part I.

(8) We know that Śiśunāga kings came to Magadh from Kāśī.

other two his relatives[9] ruled, thus having no impetus to the desire of getting women, which was sole cause of wars in those times. But, we must here remember that Śreṇik always felt a desire to get mastery over Aṅga because its capital, Champāpurī, was the place where the twelfth Tīrthaṅkar of his religion had entered nirvāṇ[10], and because it was the region in which Lord Mahāvīr had entered the Kaivalya stage[11]. Śreṇik being a lover of justice[12] did not attempt to get it by war. Hence when its king Dadhivāhan died leaving no heir[13] behind him, Śreṇik at once annexed it to Magadh, and thus began the word "Aṅga–Magadh" to be spoken[14]. When Śreṇik's son Ajātśatru came to the throne, he changed his capital from Rājgrhī to Champāpurī, which was in a runious state[15], and which was rebuilt by him in 524 B. C. Ajātśatru, following the example of Prasenjit of Kośal, got a pillar erected in his name in the stupa there, as a mark of his devotion to Jainism.

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(9) Cheṭak's daughter Mrgāvatī was married to Śatānik of Vatsa and Kauśāmbī; his another daughter Padmāvatī was married with Dadhivāhan of Aṅga; while Chillaṇā was married with Śreṇik.

(10) The place where the inscription of Rupnāth is erected by Priyadarśin.

(11) Kaivalya Gnān is one of the five Kalyāṇakās of Jains. The place where a monk enters the Kaivalya stage is always considered as a holy place of pilgrimage by Jains.

Bhārhut, a village in Nāgod State, is this place. It is on the banks of the river Son which also flows by Pāṭliputra. It is a few miles away from the railway junction Sutnā. Near it, is the famous Bhārhut–Stūpa which contains the pillars erected by Prasenjit of Kośal and by Ajātśatru of Magadh. Priyadarśin has also contributed something to it.

For details about the change of capital, consult my book "Life of Śree Mahāvīr" shortly to be published.

(12) Vide his account for details f. n. no. 59 pp. 263 and f. n. no. 62 pp. 264.

(13) Really speaking he had a son, who became the king of Kaliṅg as Mahāmeghvāhan Karkandu; and he had no claim over Aṅga, because he was separated from his very birth from his father under peculiar circumstances.

(14) Vide the account of Aṅga. This incident took place in 537 B. C.

(15) In 557 B. C. Śatānik, king of Vatsa, had invaded Champāpurī and had destroyed it. Thus it was revived and rebuilt after about twenty–five years.

Ajātśatru; Kuṇik

Like his father, he was also given some nick-names; one was Kuṇik the crooked, on account of his crooked finger; the second of Kuṇik the greedy, on account of his greed for conquering new countries.

By the time of Kuṇik, the fifth Ārā had already set in; thus creating in the minds of kings a desire to increase their territories. Hence, Kuṇik first of all fought against his own brothers Halla and Vihalla, and his maternal grand-father Cheṭak, whose kingdom he annexed when the latter died without an heir in 528-7 B. C. Within a year, he lost many of his relatives, whereon he began to dislike Rājgṛhī, and within four years, changed the seat of his capital.

After thus settling himself in his new capital, he turned his attention towards increasing his territory, as that was the one desire of his heart. There was no country to be won on the east of his kingdom On the west, there were kingdoms of Kośal, of Vatsa, and of Avanti. On the south lay the ranges of the Vindhyā mountains. First he seems to have subdued the kingdom of Kośal, though some believe that Kośal was an independent kingdom upto the reign of Nandivardhan[16]. Again he had married Prabhāvatī, the daughter of the king of Kośal, and she must have tried her best to prevent him from invading the kingdom of her father. But as Ajātśatru had a great desire to extend his territory, he might have disregarded the relationship. He had given his daughter Padmāvatī in marriage to the king of Vatsa, thus preventing any possibility of attacking it. He could not invade Avanti because it was protected on one side by the intervening country of Vatsa, and on the other by the ranges of Vindhyā. Hence he led his army towards the south, and tried to find out a way to south India through the Vindhyā ranges. We know that he lost his life in his attempt.

Udāyan

We know how, Udāyan changed his capital from Champāpurī to Pāṭliputra. Though his father had attempted to go to south through the Vindhyā ranges, yet he found it better to pass through Kaliṅg, as it was nearer than the Vindhyās from Pāṭliputra. Udāyan,

(16) Vide the account of Nandivardhan relating to f. n. no. 34.

under the influence of the fifth rā, had already annexed the kingdom of Kāliṅg to Magadh, as a son-in-law of Karkaṇḍu ruled over it. Thus he first subdued Kaliṅg in 490 B. C.; we do not know whether he kept the throne of Kaliṅg vacant, or put Chaṇdray on its throne as his vassal.

He appointed his cousin Nāgdaśak to the post of commander-in-chief immediately after his accession to the throne. After the army was properly trained and disciplined by him within the first two years, he first tested the strength of his army by invading Kaliṅg. Encouraged by his success, he began to advance further in the south. He thought it unadvisable to go himself to the south, because the throne of Magadh would be in danger. So he sent Nāgdaśak and his son Anurudhdha to the south. They travelled to the end of southern India in eight years, conquering one country after another, and appointing their cousins of the families of Pāṇḍyā, Pallava, Kadamba[17] and others[18] to the governorships of these conquered provinces. A large number of kśatriyas who had come with them from Magadh were also appointed as officers under these governors. Other merchants and artisans migrated towards these southern countries in the hope of bettering their prospects, and thus the uncivilized people of the south came into direct contact with the civilized people of the north, for the first time in the history of India. Nāgdaśak gained much political knowledge besides his own knowledge about the army. At last he and Anurudhdha took their army to Ceylon, where they fought a great battle against its king named Vijaya who was (who ruled from 520 to 482 B. C. 38 years or A. M.

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(17) The region first selected by the Kadambās was what is called Koṇkaṇ to-day. And now as this region was conquered by Nandivardhan for the first time, (Cf. 37 below), the Kadambās must have migrated there during the time of Nandivardhan. It is also possible that they might have migrated during the time of Udāyan, and might have been appointed to junior posts under governors of other families; and subsequently might have been appointed as governors of the region described above by Nandivardhan.

(18) See f. n. no. 80 Chapter III pp. 295.

(19) Ind. Ant. 1914 pp. 171 :—"Vijaya, king of Ceylon, began his reign

7 to 45) defeated and killed, as Mahāvamśa says. Anurudhdha founded there a new city after his own name (Anurudhdhapur), first having obtained the consent of his father to do so. Having appointed a governor for it, and having erected many Chaityās to commemorate their religion[20] they returned to Magadh within a short time, because they had not to fight against any one on their return journey.

Udāyan must have received them with great pomp, though we do not know anything certain about it. Udāyan, having given his sister's (who was married to Udayan of Vatsa) daughter in marriage to Nāgdaśak, and having entrusted the cares of administration to Anurudhdha, started on a pilgrimage to various Jaina holy places, in order to expatiate his sins committed in waging wars with different countries[21] (480 B. C.). We understand now why he was called Bhata (a warrior). Though Anurudhdha was the king de facto, yet Udāyan was the king de jure, and therefore the coronation ceremony of Anurudhdha had not taken place. Udāyan died in 475-4 B. C. i. e 6½ years after he started on his pilgrimages.

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in the eighth year af Ajātśatru and died after having been king 38 years, in Udāyan's 14th year, on the very night of Buddha's death" (Mahāvaṃśa VII-I. Ind. Ant. 1914 f. n. no. 83). The last phrase "on the very night of Buddha's death" should really be placed before the first phrase "in the eighth year of Ajātśatru", because Buddha died "in the eighth year of Ajātśatru".

That the names of Ajātśatru and Udāyan are given in Mahāvaṃśa, means that these kings must have some political connections with Ceylon. Otherwise the period of Vijaya's reign must not have been compared with the periods of their reigns; it must have been compared with that of Buddha only.

I shall give the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon in the account of Priyadarśin.

(20) This proves that Jainism was introduced in Ceylon by Anurudhdha.

(21) As he was a devout Jain, he had a great Jaina temple built in Pāṭliputra, and had placed in it an idol of the 22nd. Tīrthankar, Śree Neminā·h. In Anurudhdhapur too, he had ordered several chaityās to be built. This, combined with his pilgrimages, must have given him the nick-name of "Dharmātmā (the religious). (f. n. no. 59 Chapt. III pp. 288).

Anurudhdha took up the reins of government in his hands. Nāgdaśak was enjoying his much-required and richly earned rest. We know that Vijaya was killed[22] and a governor was appointed by Anurudhdha to represent him. The uncivilized people of Ceylon rose in rebellion, as soon as Anurudhdha and Nāgdaśak turned their backs on them, and they killed the governor, appointing in his place a new man named Pāṇḍuvās[23] as the king. Anurudhdha did not try to suppress this rebellion and re-establish the power of Magadh, because his father had already started on a pilgrimage, and he could not consequently leave his capital. Nāgdaśak was resting a while, being too exhausted to go again towards south. Again Ceylon was a far-off country, and there were more important things to be done at home.

The sudden death of Anurudhdha in 474 B. C. was a great shock to king Udayāśva who was by now 67 years old, and he succumbed to it. As Anurudhdha had no son, the throne was given to his brother Mund[24].

Mund

Mund ascended the throne with a sorrow-ridden heart, on account of the deaths of his father and of his elder brother. He took little interest in the affairs of his kingdom. Taking advantage of this opportunity different countries began to assert their independence. Kśemrāj, a descendant of Karkaṇḍu, became the independent king of Kaliṅg. As Kaliṅg was between Magadh and the southern countries, the Pallava, the Kadamba, the Pāṇḍyā and the Cholā chiefs too, asserted their independence[25]. So the Magadh empire

(22) See the chronological list of the kings of Ceylon in the account of Priyadarśin.

(23) We do not know whether this Pāṇḍuvās was in any way related to Vijaya or not. This one year is considered to be an interregnum in the history of Ceylon.

(24) It is not yet finally settled who became the king of Magadh first, Anurudhdha or Mund; or whether Anurudhdha died on his way from Ceylon to Magadh and how he died. Let us hope further research will throw new light on the matter.

(25) These chiefs were appointed as governors over these provinces only six years ago. (Vide f. n. no. 55 Chapter III pp. 288).

was reduced to the eastern portion of northern India only. By this time, Mund's dearest queen Bhadrā died. Mund became almost mad, and did not allow the dead body to be taken away for two days. The ministers saw that a person with Mund's weak mind was not fit for kingship; therefore they decided to depose him and to put Nāgdaśak on the throne, in recognition of his manifold services to the kingdom, and also because he was a cousin of the king, thus keeping the continuity of the dynasty unbroken[26]. (B. C. 472 A. M. 55). Thus ended the senior Śiśunāga dynasty.

Nandivardhan, the founder of this dynasty was appointed to the post of commander-in-chief of Magadh in 495 B. C. After being for 23½ years in the same position, he became the king, of Magadh in 472 B. C.

Nanda dynasty : the Junior Śiśunāga dynasty

After spending a year or two in consolidating his position, and in establishing order and discipline in his kingdom, he first invaded the kingdom of Kaliṅg which was under the rule of Kśemrāj who opposed him bravely and preserved his independence. Nandivardhan, however, was more powerful than he, and would have defeated him, but a calamity[27] at home obliged him to hasten to his capital. He did not, however, leave Kaliṅg[28] without taking away with him the famous Jaina idol which was in the capital of Kaliṅg[29], (468 B. C. or A M. 59[30]).

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(26) This gives us some idea about the power of the council of ministers in those times. It could dethrone a king when it thought that he was unworthy. The instances of Pālak and Dantivardhan also illustrate its power.

(27) Vide the account of Nandivardhan for this calamity of excess of rain.

(28) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II. Part I. pp. 4:—"Nandivardhan is said to have conquered Kaliṅg". If he had conquered Kaliṅg, Kśemrāj's dynasty would have been extinct. He had only partly defeated Kśemrāj, and as a token of his victory, had taken away a Jaina idol.

(29) *This was the idol referred to, by Khārvel in his Hāthigumfā inscription.* (for details vide part I Chap. VI and the account of Khārvel).

(30) J. S. I. Vol. II pp. 4.—Prof. Jarl Carpentier of Upsalā says that Nand took away the idol of Jina, passibly about 60 years after the death of Mahāvir.

In our account of Vatsa, we have stated that when Udayan died without an heir, an adopted son named Maniprabh sat on the throne. After a short time Maniprabh became the master of Avanti also, which included within its bounds most of central India. When this Maniprabh died without an heir in 467 B. C.[31], Nandivardhan, who had married the daughter of Udayan became the master of Vatsa and Avanti[32]. Thus such a vast territory was annexed to the Magadh empire by a stroke of fortune[33].

Some believe that Nandivardhan conquered Kośal in 466 B.C.[34].

Fortunately for him, Xerses, the powerful Persian emperor died in 465-6 B. C. Nandivardhan saw that, that was his opportunity to subdue and conquer the Persian possessions in India. Thus he annexed the province of Sindh[35], and the region of the south of the Punjāb to his empire.

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(31) In the account of Vatsa, I have stated that Nandivardhan had defeated Maniprabh and thus annexed Vatsa and Avanti to his kingdom; while here I have stated that he became the master of these countries because of the natural death of Maniprabh without an heir. I leave to scholars and research workers to decide which of these is more possible.

(32) As Maniprabh was the king both of Vatsa and Avanti, Nandivardhan naturally became the master of both after the former's death. Nandivardhan had another claim over it. When Avanti's king died without a son, the claim of his daughter Vāsavadattā, who was married with Udayan of Vatsa, was established over it, and Nandivardhan was her step son-in-law.

(33) See f. n. no. 72 Chapter VII Part I.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 78-79 Nandi, the increaser added Avanti to his empire : last Pradyota-or to be accurate last of the Punikās.

(34) Vide the account of Kunik.

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 89 :—"The third family (Iksavākus of Śrāvasti) must have been also obliterated by Nand I the Increaser

(35) Though I have found no evidence to support the conclusion that he conquered Sindh, yet I have concluded this depending on the following points :—(1) Sindh was under the rule of the Persian emperors from Darius to Xersis (B. C. 465). (2) Though Alexānder the Great conquered Persiā in 328 B. C. he had to conquer Sindh in 326-5 B. C. These prove that Sindh was not under the power of Persiā during the 140 years from 465 B. C. to 325 B. C.: of the five famous emperors of Magadh during these years (Nand

After thus conquering all the countries in northern India, he directed his attention to southern kingdoms, which had asserted their independence during the weak regime of Mund. He first subdued the Kadambās who ruled over Kuntal which consisted of the modern districts of Śolāpur and Kārvād[37], and he appointed

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I, II, and IX; and Chandragupta and Bindusār of the Maurya dynasty) we know that the last four never attempted to conquer Sindh. This proves that Nandivardhan had conquered it.

The provinces of Hinden and Gāndhār are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Nagsh–I–Rustam. Herodotus includes "Hinden etc., amongst the tribes composing the army of Xerxes". (Pro. Hultzsch. Inscr. of Aśoka Vol. I. Intro XLIII f. n. no. 8). This gives us to understand that the Punjāb was under the rule of Persiā. Keeping in mind f. n. no. 22 in the account of Nand IX, we can be sure that the Punjāb was conquered by Nand IX, while Sindh and the southern portion of the Punjāb were conquered by Nandivardhan. (Cf. f. n. no. 38 in the account of Nand IX).

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 79 :—"Tārānāth says that Nandivardhan conquered the countries on the south, eastern, and western oceans, and in the north of the Himālayan regions. (P. 34). It is implied that his way included Kāśmir and the neighbourhood". I believe that Nandivardhan had not conquered Kāśmir. (See f. n. no. 22 in the account of Nand IX).

J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I pp. 89 :—"Haihayās and Aśmakās were probably subjugated by Nand I, the Vardhan, during his campaign to Aprānt". Here Haihayās means those who ruled over the region of modern Mysore state, and Aśmakās ruled over the rogion on the north of the modern state of the Nizām. This means that he had conquered Andhra and other surrounding countries, and also the western region ruled over by the Kadambās, which might not have been conquered by Udayāśva.

(36) The northern region of the Punjāb, which was called Gāndhār. This and Kāśmir were conquered by Nand IX. Vide f. n. nos. 27, 28, 38 of the previous chapter.

(37) See f. n. no. 17 above.

Epi. Karnā II, pp. 41 (Epi Kar. V. Śikārpur 285). Kuntal the province, which included the Western Deccan and the north of Mysore was ruled by Nandis". Now Nand II and IX had not taken over these regions, and Nands III to VIII were mere nonenties. Thus Nandivardhan must have conquered Aparānt and Kuntal extending his dominions, far south to the exkirts of 'Mysore". Vide the chapter on coins, for the coins of Mulānand and Chutukānand.

his relatives Chutukānand and Mulānand as governors[38] of these districts. Then he subdued the Kanarā the Pāṇḍyā, the Cholā, and the Pallava chiefs one by one, and then returned to his capital passing through Berār and central Provinces, leaving the straighter way which passed through Kaling which was independent under Kśemrāj. Nandivardhan did not attempt to fight with him as he and his army were very much fatigued and required rest. Again he received news of famine in Magadh. Hence his ambition to have unqualified mastery over the whole of southern India, remained unfulfilled.

Over Āndhra and Central Provinces, he appointed certain officers called "Mahārathi"[39] from the time of Śrenik, as governors. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of coins. The fact that Chandragupta, after abdicating his throne, went to the Śravaṇa Belgol, a place of pilgrimage, and there died of fasting, proves that, that region was under the rule of Nanda kings from whom Chandragupta got his throne.

Thus Nandivardhan had conquered the whole of India except some part of the Punjāb, Kāśmir and Kaliṅg. Among all the kings of both the senior and junior Śiśunāga dynasties, he was the master of the largest territory. Hence he was given the name "Nandivardhan" (the Increaser); and hence also he is said to have

(38) These chiefs were those who asserted their independence after the death of Nandivardhan. Here I have given their names so that the reader can grasp the facts easily : but really speaking, their ancestors were appointed by Nandivardhan as governors of those provinces.

I have stated in the previous pages that Nandivardhan conquered the Kadambās and the Pallavās, and Buddharāj conquered the other two. We have to find out the truth yet.

The coins of those chiefs support the above-stated conclusion.

(39) We are talking about 460 B. C. here. One Mahārathi-chief was famous as the governor of the region consisting of modern Berār, in 400 B. C. He was the father-in-law of king Yagñaśree Gautamiputra, the second king of the Śātvāhan dynasty, and the father of the famous queen Nāgnikā. Thus these Mahārathis were officers from very old times. They are ancestors of the Mahārathik or Rastrik dynasties that were founded in the eighth century A. D.

founded a new dynasty[40]. The fact that Nandivardhan is given the title of "Vardhan" and Udayāśva was not given, though he made more conquests in southern India than the former, indicates that northern India being inhabited by the civilized Āryans, conquests of countries in it, were given more importance than conquests of countries in south India, it being inhabited by uncivilized people.

One more thing deserves notice here. Most writers believe that Śrimukh, the founder of Śātvāhan dynasty, ascended the throne of Āndhra and the region surrounding the river Kṛṣṇā; (Bennā) after killing Suśarman, the last king of the Kaṇva dynasty, which lasted for 45 years. We know that Śrimukh came to the throne in 427 B. C. or A. M. 100. (Vide his account and the account of Avanti.) Calculating 45 years backward from 427 B. C., we must say that the Kaṇva kings ruled over Āndhra and the region surrounding the Krsṇā from 462 B. C. to 427 B. C. (A. M. 55 to A. M. 100). But we have proved just above, that during this time Nandivardhan was the master of these regions; and we shall later on prove that all his descendants were masters of these regions. This proves that the kings of Kaṇva dynasty had no connection with this region. We have referred to this matter in the account of Dhankaṭak or Bennātaṭ. We shall touch it again sometimes.

Though Mahāpadma ruled for more years than his father, yet he had to fight no battles for conquering new countries, as he had inherited practically the whole of India from his father. He thought it unwise to wage war with Ksemrāj of Kaliṅg who was a powerful king, and who was left undisturbed by his father. But Kṣemrāj died in 439 B. C. or A. M. 88 and Buddharāj succeeded him on the throne. He was an ambitious monarch, and he sent his eldest son with an army to conquer the regions on the east coast of

Mahāpadma: Nand II

(40) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 80 —"Ktesiās speaks of this-probably Nandivardhan as one king of the whole of India possessing a monster force of war-elephants, moving both in the van and the rear of his army". (Cf. f. n. no. 22 of the previous chapter, I am inclined towards Mahānand).

India, which were under the power of Magadh. Having conquered these regions, he brought the Cholās and the Pāṇḍyās under his power, and thus he was called "Trikālingādhipati" (Lord of three countries including Kaling). He died in 429 B. C. or 98 A. M., and his son Bhikhkhurāj, assuming the name of Khārvel, succeeded him on the throne A year aud a half later Mahāpadma died (100 A. M. or 427 B. C.).

We know that after the death of Mahāpadma, his six kstriya sons came to the throne one by one. Two of his śūdra sons left Magadh, and went to the regions now called Central Provinces, after travelling through the western border of Magadh, as they could not pass through the straighter road from Kaling. One of them became the master of Āndhra, and the other became the master of the region now called Central Provinces. So these provinces were lost from Magadh. Again Śrimukh's son was married to Nāganikā, the daughter of the Mahārathi chief[41] already referred to before. Thus huge slices were cut off from the Magadhan empire which now consisted of Magadh proper, Videha, Kāśī, Kośal, Avanti, and the regions surrounding the Ganges.

Nand III to Nand VIII

All the six brothers were nonentities. When the last of them Bṛhaspatimitra came to the throne in 417 B. C., Khārvel was ruling over Kaling. Khārvel had subdued the whole of southern India, including Āndhra regions also, the kings of which must have been his vassals. Then he invaded Magadh, travelling on the banks of the Ganges[42], defeated Brhaspatimitra, and took away from Pātliputra the same Jaina idol which was taken away from the capital of Kaling by Nandivardhan during the reign of his ancestor Ksemrāj in 468 B. C. Bṛhaspatimitra was forced to bow at the feet of this idol.

Mahānand ascended the throne at the age of 23. He first decided to establish order in the internal administration of his

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(41) He must have been 30 in 427 B C. or 100 A. M. because his son was married at this time, who must have been 15.

(42) Vide Hāthigumfā Inscriptions, the description of the events that took place in the 13th year of Khārvel's reign.

kingdom. He issued orders to various officers and chiefs, and asked them to abide by them. Those officers who obeyed his orders were confirmed in their offices; but those who showed the slightest hesitation in executing his orders, were summarily hanged by him. Most of the officers and chiefs thus killed by him were kshatriyās[43], who hated him because he was a śūdra. He took ten years to consolidate his power. Then he decided to conquer the countries in northern India. Within five years he conquered the whole of north India (including the northern part of the Punjāb, Kāśmir, and Sindh, which were not conquered even by Nandivardhan). We know how he brought the learned trio from the Takṣaśilā university[44], and thus founded or revived the university of Nālandā. He also brought an immense amount of gold from these northern countries (as much as nine hills of gold[45]).

Nand IX: Mahānand

His prime-minister was Śakdāl, a Nāgar[46]. Mahānand, then must have felt a desire to reconquer the countries of southern India. He must have checked his desires, because; (1) his prime minister might have advised against war, (2) he must have realized the difficulties and hardships of warfare, (3) he must have hesitated to have enmity with a powerful emperor like Khārvel, (4) Śrimukh of Āndhra was his brother, and there was always a possibility of Śrimukh and Khārvel uniting against him. (as Śrimukh was almost under the power of Khārvel[47]. Hence he decided to rest content with his possession.

(43) The reader can now see that the name, "Kālāśoka" can be properly applied to Mahānand, and not to Mahāpadma.

(44) Vide the account of Mahānand in the previous chapter.

(45) It is possible that the amount was enough to raise five hills. Vide the account of king Kalki, in the account of Śunga dynasty.

(46) The word has two meanings. (1) It represents one of the castes of the Hindu community; and (2) A citizen. The latter meaning seems more suitable above. Vide f. n. no. 64 on pp. 242.

(47) The dynasty of Śrimukh was called "Āndhra-bhṛtyās", because it was under the power of Khārvel.

(The two dynasties "Āndhra-bhṛtyās" and "Śunga-bhṛtyās" were so called, as long as they were under the power (bhṛyas=servants) of some other king, but ceased to be called so, when they were independent).

We know how his youngest son[48] was the cause of the vow of Chaṇakya to exterminate the Nands. we know how he lost Śakḍāl as a result of the plots of Varrūchi.

In 404 B. C. or A. M. 123, Śrimukh died, and his son Gautamiputra Yagñaśree, the husband of Nāgnikā, succeeded him on the throne. Mahānand defeated him, and made him acknowledge his superiority. (Vide the chapter on coins).

We know how Chāṇakya understood and improved upon his mistake[49] of plundering the neighbouring country, without previous self-organization. Hence with the help of the king Vakragriv[50] of the hilly country[51] of Trikaling (Anga was the hilly region), he invaded Magadh, defeated Mahānand, and placed Chandragupta on the throne of Magadh[52].

Some of these kings have been given names, which represent their main achievement of trait of character.

Names assigned to some of these kings, on account of their chief trait

1. Bimbisār—the Organizer
2. Kuṇik—the Greedy or the Warrior
3. Udāyan—the Good or the Warrior
4. Nandivardhan—the Increaser
5. Mahāpadma—the Peaceful
6. Mahānand—the Great or the Cruel
7. Other Nands—the Puppets

He must have avoided Śrimukh because he was his brother, though kings hardly take this into consideration.

(48) That the youngest son insulted Chāṇakya, means that he must have been at least 7 to 8 years old; thus his two elder brothers must at least have been 10 and 12 years old respectively.

(49) Vide the account of Chandragupta for details.

(50) See the Hāthīgumfā Inscriptions. The "Malayaketu" in Mudrārākṣas was possibly the son of this "Vakragriv".

(51) Pārvatiya=hilly. Vide pp. 53 of "Chandragupta" published by the Baroda State. While this is sent to press, I happened to see a thesis, prepared & printed by Prof. Dr. H. C. Seth M. A. Ph. D. of Nagpur University in which he assigus this Parvatiya Country to be located somewhere in the Punjab as he is inclined to trace Maurya Chandragupta's origin in Gāndhār Country. I beg to differ from him in both respects.

(52) Vide the Chapter on coins.

Dynastic Lists

N. B.— If figures mentioned here differ from those mentioned in the text, they require correction and further investigation.

(I) Kings of Kośal	B. C.	B. C.	Years	B. M.*	B. M.
Vṛtta : Vaṅk	790	730	60	263	203
Ratañjay	730	690	40	203	163
Dūb-baseṅ	690	640	50	163	113
Sañjay	640	585	55	113	58
Prasenjit	585	526	59	58	A.[1] M. 1
Vidurath	526	490	36	A. M. 1	37
Kuśulik	490	470	20	37	57
Surath	470	460	10	57	67
Sumitra	460	450	10	67	77
			340 years		

(II) Kings of Vatsa-Kośambī

	B. C.	B. C.	Year	B. M.	B. M.
Sutīrtha	796	736	60	269	209
Rūch	736	696	40	209	169
Chitrakṣha	696	651	45	169	124
Sukhīlal	651	611	40	124	84
Sahasraṇīk : Parantap	611	566	45	84	39
Śatānik	566	550	16	39	23
Queen Mṛgāvatī	550	543	7	23	16
Udayan	543	490	54	16	A. M. 37
Medhavin	490	467	23	A. M. 37	60
			330 years		

* B. M. Before Mahāvīr, meaning before the commencement of the Mahāvīr era which has taken in 527 B. C.

(1) Anno-Mahāvīr : in the year of Mahāvīr era.

(III) Kings of Chedi-Kaling

	B. C.	B. C.	Years	B. M.	B. M.
Sulochan : Karkaṇḍu Mahā-Meghavāhan	558	537	21	32	10
Surath	537	509	28	10	A. M. 18
Śobhanroy	509	492	17	A. M. 18	35
Chaṇdroy (Semi-independent)	492	475	17	35	52
Kṣemrāj	475	439	36	52	88
Buddharāj etc.	439 & forward			88 & forward	
		upto 372 *	67	upto	155
			186 years		

(IV) Kings of Avanti (Pradyota dynasty)

Punik	596	575	21	69	48
Chaṇḍ : Mahasen	575	527	48	48	0
Pālak	527	520	7	A. M. 0	A. M. 7
Dantivardhan	520	501	19	7	26
Avantisen	501	487	14	26	40
Maṇiprabh : Medhavin	487	467	20	40	60
			129 years		

(V) Kings of Magadh Śiśunāga dynasty or Larger Nāga dynasty

Śiśunāg	805	745	60	278	218
Kākavarṇa	745	709	36	218	182
Kṣem-vardhan	709	659	50	182	132
Ksemjit	659	623	36	132	96
Prasenjit	623	580	43	96	54
Śreṇik : Bimbisār	580	528	52	54	2
Kuṇik : Ajātśatru	528	496	32	2	A. M. 31
Udyāśva	496	480	16	A. M. 31	47
Anurudhdha & Mund	480	472	8	47	55
			333 years		

* For this list of succession vide Chedi dynasty in Vol. IV.

Kings of Magadh (contd)

Nanda dynasty : Smaller Nāga dynasty

		B. C.	B. C.	Year	A. M.	A. M.
Nand I	Nandivardhan	472	456	16	55	71
Nand II	Mahāpadma	456	428	28	71	99
Nand III	Aśwaghoṣa	428	425	3	99	102
Nand IV	Jyeṣṭamitra	425	423	2	102	104
Nand V	Sudev	423	421	2	104	106
Nand VI	Dhandev	421	419	2	106	108
Nand VII	Bṛhadrath	419	417	2	108	110
Nand VIII	Bṛhaspatimitra	417	415	2	110	112
Nand IX	Mahānand : Dhan-nand	415	372	43	112	155
				100 years		

Chronology

N. B. Simple figures mentioned against the events show, the pages and figures in brackets, the pages of the foot-notes, on which their description is given; when two dates of an event are probable the one doubtful is bracketted; approximate dates are treated as circa; while those which are doubtful are marked as ?.

B. C.	B. M. *	
84500	84000	Neminath, the 22nd Jaina Tīrthanker and his cousin Krṣna flourished according to Jaina tradition which appears to be correct (92)
7000–8000 !	6500–? 7500	Antiquity of Mohan-jā-dero, is taken to be so much old according to Archæological experts (17) [for my views see infra 535 B. C. and B. C. 2000]
3201	2728	The great war of Mahābhārat is said to have (?) taken place; 93
2000	1525	Civilization and culture of Mohan-jā-dero, cannot be older than this; (17)
900	400	Vedic and Jaina religions already in existence; 3, 5, 25, 26, 38
8th cent.	3rd cent.	Erection of Māṇikyāl inscriptions; (37)
9th cent.		Pre-historic period. 3
8th cent.		First crisis occurred. 6
877–777	350–250	Time of Pārśwanāth, the 23rd Jaina Tīrthanker
877	350	Birth of Pārśwanāth. 94
847	320	Aśwasen, father of Pārśwanāth, was ruling over Kāśī. 97
		Pārśwanāth became a Jaina ascetic. 94–227
805	278	Śiśunāga dynasty founded by Śiśunāga at Kāśī. 203 : Śiśunāga dynasty began to rule. 226–229
805–745=60		Śiśunāga's own rule. 229

* Vide f. n. * on pp. 358

B. C.	B. M.	
804–596=208		Vitihotra dynasty ruled over Avanti. 203
777	250	Nirwāṇ of Pārśwanāth. 94, 227
800 cir.		Time of Prasenjit, father-in-law of Pārśwanāth and king of Mahā-kośal. (73), (74)
754	227	A Jaina idol is said to have been consecrated at Bhadreśwar in Cutch; if it be true, it may be noted as the first instance in history of a Jaina idol to have been set up. (167)
745–709=36		Kākvarṇa's rule. 229
709–659=50		Ksemvardhan's time. 229
659–623=36		Kṣemjit's time. 229
623–580=43		Prasenjit's rule. 229
6th cent.		Buddhism came into existence. 5
		Second crisis occurred. 6
Cir. 600		Nick-name of Śreṇik was created. 27
616	89	Probable birth of king Cheṭak. 134
601–3		Probable birth of king Dadhivāhan of Aṅgadeś. 140
601	74	Probable birth of Nandivardhan of Vaiśālī and brother of Mahāvīr. 129
600	73	Seven co-nàtals were born. 214; of these one is Gautam Buddha. 237; another is Udāyin of Sindhu-Sauvīr, 127, 221, (127) 214
		Jyeṣṭā, queen of Nandivardhan of Vaiśālī was probably born. (599; 129)
598	71	Birth of Mahāvīr. 129; probable birth of Queen Prabhāvatī of Sind. 129, 131 (597; 127)
596–575=21		Duration of Punik the Pradyot of Avanti 210
593–574		Between these years, Śreṇik killed that pregnant female deer (243), (vide below 580 item regarding Śreṇik; hence it follows that he killed the pregnant deer between 580 and 574)
595	68	Birth of king Śreṇik. 237
594	67	Probable birth of Queen Prabhāvatī of Sindh 221. (593 : 131, 132 and 140)

B. C.	B. M.	
595	68	Punik ascended the throne of Avanti; foundation of the Pradyota dynasty. 103
Cir. 590		King Prasenjit of Kośal was born. 88
589–90	62–3	King Prasenjit of Magadh annexed Aṅga with Magadh (one view). (260)
586	59	Nandivardhan married Princess Jyeṣṭā of Videha. 13
585	58	Probable birth of king Śatānık of Vatsa. 109, 129
583	56	A great caravan visited Bennātat nagar. (234)
582	55	Marriage of Bimbisār with his first queen Sunandā. (235)
580	53	Coronation of Udāyin of Sindh 221. (584 : 214), probable date of marriage of king Udāyın with princess Prabhāvatī of Vaiśālı. 221 (584 : 126, 127, 214) (583 : 215) (585 : 131)
580		Bimbisār came to the throne 230. (His reign from 580–528=51½ years) (127) 229, 236, 237, 240, (247) 265, Birth of Prince Abhayakumār 237 Probable birth of Queen Mṛgāvatī of Vatsa 129–132 Śreṇik was a Jain upto 580; 240. He was a Vedic follower between the years of 580 and 564 (vide above 593–574) 243 (244); [His religions :—ancestral Jaina before 580; Vedic from 580-564, Buddha 564-558; unsettled mind 558–557 (till 556 vide p. 250); Jaina 557; staunch Jain (not a devout Jain upto 556 f. n. page 268); 556 to the end (page 79) of his life in 528] Nāg (Rathik) joined Śreṇik's army (247)
579	52	Dadhivāhan of Vatsa married Padmāvatī of Vaiśālī 132

B. C.	B. M.	
577	50	Separation of Dadhivāhan from pregnant queen Padmāvatī 131; Birth of king Karkaṇḍu of Kaliṅg 131, 165. Queen Padmāvatī became a Jaina nun (576 : 132)
576	49	Sulaśā, wife of Rathik Nāg, gave birth to 32 sons at a time (247)
575	48	Probable birth of prince Keśav of Sindh 221
574	47	Chaṇḍ came to the throne of Avanti 128 : his rule from 574 to 527 = 47 years 194, 210; Puṅik was succeeded, by Chaṇḍ 203; Probable birth of Queen Śivādevī of Avanti 128, 131
573	47	Queen Prabhāvatī of Sindh became a Jaina nun 126; (574 : 127, 214) Princess Sujyeṣṭa was born 132 (574 : 129)
572	45	Nun Prabhāvatī died 126 (573 : 131). Birth of Queen Chillaṇā of Magadh 129, 132. Birth of Princess Manoramā by Queen Dhāriṇī of Magadh 267
571	44	Gautama Buddha renounced the world at his age of 29; 241 (241)
After 574	47	Assertion of independence of kingdoms of Cholā, Kaliṅg, Pāṇḍyā, Kadamb and Pallav 297
569	42	Mahāvīr renounced the world at his age of 30 and became a, Jaina asetic (127)
568–70	41–3	Prince Abhaya–Kumār was appointed prime-minister of Magadh 239
567	40	Ascetic Mahāvīr came to Kośambī (109)
566	39	Śatānik's reign as king of Vatsa (from 566–550 = 16 yrs.) 109 : (570 : 130 and (109)). Marriage of Śatānik with Mṛgāvatī 132, 129
564	37	Buddha began to preach at his age of 36; 79, (79), 240, (243) : Buddha saw Śreṇik for the first time 241. Bimbisār was a follower of Buddhism from 564 to 558; 242, 243

B. C.	B. M.	
562	35	Start of invasion on Avanti, made by Udāyin of Sindh 126. Chaṇd of Avanti was made a war-captive 128
561	34	Apology by Udāyin of Sindh for his uncivil conduct towards Chaṇḍ of Avanti 126; war between Udāyin and Chaṇḍ 126, 221. Return of Udāyin to Vīttabhayapattaṇ after the invasion on Avanti (125); Chaṇd followed Tāpasā-dharma upto this time 205
560	33	Prince Nandiseṇ of Magadh must have been born 270; Śivādevī married with Chaṇḍ of Avanti 128, 131, 205
559	32	9th year of the ascetic life of Mahāvīr (163) Buddha made Queen Kṣemā of Magadh a Buddha nun 267 (558, 241 : 557 (241))
558	31	Karkaṇdu became the king of Kaling 165 (528 on pp. (163)) and founded his first Kaliṅg dynasty 165
		Buddha saw Biṃbisār but to no purpose 242 : Princess Manoramā married to Kṛta-puṇya 267—270; Biṃbisār married Chillaṇā 128, 129, 132, 240, 241, (247), 262 (556:79); Nāg-Rathik's and Sulasā's 32 sons died while fighting (247)
558-530=28		Cyrus, king of Persia (69)
558-537=21		King Mahāmeghvāhan of Kaliṅg 168-170
565 to 556		Between these years, Prasenjit of Kośal was converted to Jainism (80)
		Invasion of Śatānik on Aṅgadeś of Dadhi-vāhan 110, 345; plunder & ruin of Champā purī 111, (111), 131, 136, (136) 279
557	30	Birth of Udayan of Vatsa 108, 112, 116, 129, (114)
		Birth of King Ajātśatru of Magadh (114), 282 (556 : 267)

B. C.	B. M.	
557	30	First time in history when an idol is said to has been really set up (167)
556	29	Birth of the first Queen of Udayan of Vatsa (114)
After 558 to	528	Śreṇik was a devout Jain 240, 243, (after 558: 250. this year has played an important part in his life 244).
556	30	May : Mahāvīr attained Kaivalya-gñān. (111), (125), (244) 267
		Princess Vasumatī of Aṅga-deś became Chandanbālā the first chief Jaina nun under Mahāvīr 111
		Wars between Śreṇik and Prasenjit ended once (86)
		Mahāvīr began to preach his gospel at his age of 42 p. 79, (243), 252
After 556		Dadhivāhan's death 140, 165; Karkaṇḍu became the ruler of Tri-Kaliṅg 166
		Śreṇık founded Rājgṛhī 250 : Śreṇik began to stıike coins 259 : Śreṇik formed guilds (255). (From thıs time Biṃbisār came to be known as Śreṇık).
		Pilgrimage of king Prasenjit of Kośal to Bhārhut ın Mahā-Kośal (75) and erection of the pillar in his name (75)
553	26	Birth of Queen Kauśalyādevī of king Śreṇik 269 (as she died in 527 at the age of 26).
552	25	Princess Sujyesṭā, a virgin, became a Jaina nun 132
		Qucen Prabhāvatī of Ajātśatru was born 282
550	23	Śatānik of Vatsa died (108, 110, 111, (111); 112, 307, (555 : 131)
Cir. 550	25	Queen Prabhāvatī of Ajātśatru was probably born 88 (one view ; for another view see under 552).

B. C.	B. M.	
549	22	Vāsavdattā, 2nd queen of Udayan of Vatsa was born (115)
550–543=7 years		Queen Mrgāvatī's reign lasted for; 108, 109, 112
546	19	Udāyin of Sindh became a Jaina monk under Mahāvīr 216, 221
545	18	Prince Megh-kumār,. of Śreṇik, became a Jaina monk 270
543	16	Buddha's Nirvāṇ (Kaivalya stage) when he was 59 : 241, (296), (315) : King Udayan of Vatsa married his first queen (114), 115 : Queen Mrgāvatī of Vatsa, and her sister Śivādevī, queen of Avanti, became Jaina nuns under Mahāvīr (114) 112, 128, 129, 131, 132
543 to 490=53 years		King Udayan of Vatsa crowned 108, 109, 112, 113, 117, 128 (He ascended the throne before 527; p. 107)
538	11	Kuṇik married Prabhāvatī, daughter of Vidurath of Kośal 282 (537 : 88). Śreṇik completely defeated Prasenjit of Kośal 269
537–509=28 years		Surath of Kaliṅg ruled for 170
537–492=45 years		Kaliṅg dependent on Magadh 168, 171 : Reign of Karkaṇdu came to the end, hence annexation of Kaliṅg to Magadh 260 (345) (one view).
537	10	Rājarsi Udāyin of Sindh was poisoned 217
535	8	Ruins of Mohan-jā-dero (17) and Desert of Jasalmir came into existence (19) [520 : (217)] another view (534 : (217) 218 : destruction of Vīttabhayapattan 221 (534 : 220) : cir. 535, King Udayan of Vatsa married his second queen Vāsavdattā of Avanti 113 (114), 115
534	7	Udāyan of Magadh was born (114), 282 : (Queen Padmāvatī of Vatsa, and daughter of

B. C.	B. M.	
		Kuṇik of Magadh is described as born (115) but it is wrong; it ought to be 532 because her brother Udāyan of Magadh is born in this year of 534 : so her own birth would be in 532)
533	6	Prince Abhayakumār became a Jaina monk 266, 270, 274 : hence Prince Kuṇik's right to the throne of Magadh was established 272
531	4	Annexation of Sindh to the Persian empire 220 (one view) (another view 520 : 220)
6th Cent. (middle)		First foreign invasion on India by a Persian emperor (40)
530–522=8 years		Cambacys king of Persia (70)
529	2	King Śreṇik was imprisoned by his son Kuṇik (one view) 274 : another view says in 240 on pp. 274
528	2	Śreṇik died 107, (114), 236, 237, 260, 276 Ajātśatru ascended the throne of Magadh 196–282; he succeeded his father Śreṇik 87,216 Nandivardhan or Nand I was born 306 (525; 307. 524 : 309)
528 to 496		King Ajātśatru's rule 230
527		(May or April) Queen Chillanā became a Jaina nun under Mahāvīr 278, 269 (528:132) (Oct) Mahāvīr's Nirvāṇ : 7, (59), 113, 127 (127) 129, 206, (244), 236 278, : Chaṇḍ of Avanti died 107, 127—179 (1½ years after Śreṇik's death) 113; 194, 196
526	1	King Chetak died 278 (It is printed 527 but ought to be 526) (525 : 133, 134) : Kuṇik annexed Vaiśāli with Magadh 346; king Presenjit of Kośal died 88 : (530 : 87)
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OPINIONS

With the help of the archeological department, ancient books and manuscripts, coins and inscriptions, scholars have begun to make an endeavour to give a connected and coherent form to ancient history. Systematic excavations of places of antique interest and collections of ancient manuscripts being put under the keen scrutity of experts have encouraged these scholars in their attempts.

Dr. T. L. Shah's effort to write a connected history of ancient India with the help of these things deserves praise. He had collected a mine of information with an aim to compile an Encyclopædia of Jainism, and with due discretion he has gleaned material out of it, which comes to light as "Ancient India". Some of his theories and conclusions might strike many a reader as bomb-shells, but there is not a shadow of doubt, that a close study of these theories will disillusion even experts, on many a most and debatable point of ancient history and will clearly show us, how we misconstrued our own past. The book deserves encouragement from the heads of educational departments.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay — (Sd.) **Acharya Girjashanker Vallabhji** M. A. Curator, Archeological Section

* * *

I have read from cover to cover "Prachin Bharatvarsha" by Dr. T. L. Shah. It is based on a close study of the Jaina, the Buddhist and the Vedic literatures, and of ancient coins and inscriptions. Jaina literature, which had hitherto not received full justice at the hands of historians, has been fully utilised by Dr. Shah. His judgments are always synthetic and the book contains things hitherto unknown. Jains should encourage his effort fully, because no other writer has paid so much attention to the study of Jaina literature.

29th Aug. 1933 Baroda — (Sd.) **Prof. Keshavlal Himatram Kamdar** Prof. of History, Baroda College

* * *

I have read Dr. Shah's synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha". He intends to write a connected history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. in a homely style. He has boldly advanced several new theories and he has supplied full evidence in support of them. He has given a detailed account of the social, political, religious, geographic and economic condition of ancient India. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his studies, and has based his conclusions on the evidence of coins, inscriptions and ancient manuscripts. His effort deserves encouragement from all quarters.

9-9-1933
Baroda

(Sd.) **Govindbhai H. Desai** B. A. LL. B.
(Ex. Naib-Dewan)

* * *

Dr. Shah's effort to give a connected history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. deserves encouragement from all quarters. His pamphlet is eloquent of the unremitting toil and irrepressible enthusiasm for his work. Most of us are quite ignorant of the real cultural glory of ancient India. Dr. Shah's book is an admirable effort to supply this deficiency.

He has put forth some new theories and has thus invited much criticism, argumentation and discussion. He has not failed to give as much evidence as possible for every theory.

Such efforts are rare and deserve all possible encouragement.

Bombay

(Sd.) **H. G. Anjaria** M. A.
(Principal, S. N. D. T. Women's University)

* * *

Your book presents quite a novel aspect of ancient history. I conclude that you have not spared yourself in writing these volumes.

Bombay
19-12-33

Yours truly
(Sd.) **Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri** M. A. LL. B.

* * *

It was a great pleasure to go through the synopsis of Dr. Shah's "Prachin Bharatvarsha". He has advanced new theories and he has given full evidence to prove them. Some of his conclusions are revolutionary. For instance, he has stated that Sandrekotus was not another name for Chandragupta but for Ashok. I wish Dr. Shah all success in his enterprise.

Luhar St. Manbar Bldg.
Bombay, 8th. Oct. 1933

(Sd.) **Motichand Girdharlal Kapadia**
B. A. LL. B., Solicitor

* * *

I was delighted when I went through the synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha." I had been waiting long since, for an effort of this kind, and you can imagine my delight at the concretisation of my desire. Your book is sure to prove a stepping stone to the full and detailed study of Jaina literature and its contribution to the culture and civilization of India. I sincerely hope that Jains as well as non-Jains will lend support to such a book, because its aim is to reveal the glory, not merely of Jainism but that of ancient India as a whole.

I admire you for your unremitting toil and irrepressible enthusiasm.

Palanpur, V. E. 1989 (Sd.) **VallabhvijaySuri**

* * *

I have received your synopsis of your "Prachin Bharatvarsha".

Going through it, I feel that you have not spared either effort or money in the preparation for this stupendous task. Few will be able to render as much service to India as you. Such books are few and far between, and the more such publications are made, the better.

Please enter my name on the list of the customers of this book.

Delhi
4-10-1933

(Sd.) **Muni Darshanvijay**
Kinari Bazar, Jain Dharmashala.

* * *

It gives me great pleasure to know, that you have collected material for compiling Encyclopædia Jainica. I thank you for sending me the beginning sections of "Prachin Bharatvarsha", material for which you have glanced from the former, and which you intend to publish shortly. Your endeavour to write a connected history of ancient India based mainly on Jaina literature, is praise worthy. It is possible that your conclusions may differ from the conclusions of those writers who have relied on Buddhist and Vedic literature. On the whole, your effort is sure to bring a good result, and is therefore really praiseworthy.

Fort Chambers, 6-10, Dean Lane
Bombay, 22-12-1933

Yours truly,
(Sd.) **Vishvanath P. Vaidya**
Bar-at-Law

* * *

I have received with pleasure Dr. Shah's synopsis of "Prachin Bharatvarsha". A persual of it has convinced me, that the book will prove very useful and stimulating to all.

16-11-1934 (Sd.) **VijaynitiSuri**

* * *

A close and constant study of problems connected with ancient India, by Dr. T. L. Shah, has resulted into such a unique achievement as "Prachin Bharatvarsha" facts and theories in which are based on the evidence of ancient books, coins and inscriptions.

The book is likely to give rise to argumentations, discussions and criticisms because it contains theories, quite opposite to those, which are generally accepted among scholars.

The author has not spared himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and has gathered materials from various sources. This is admirable.

Bombay, 18th. July, 1935 **Sanj Vartaman.**

* * *

It was generally believed that the history of India began with the invasion of Alexander the Great, and that nothing could be known beyond that. Even Vincent Smith could not begin it earlier than that. Researches have, however, begun, and as a result the veil on the history of India as it was many centuries before Christ, is being slowly lifted. Dr. Jayaswal said some time ago in his presidential speech at the Oriental Conference. "To begin the history of India with the invasion of Alexander the Great is like presenting a headless body."

Dr. Shah is one of those scholars who have not spared any effort in unearthing the golden past of India. Few books in any language can stand comparison with his work which is the outcome of many years of constant application. He has given us a connected account of the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. The book is sure to prove a great incentive to scholars and will go a great way in furthering research work in this direction.

His theories are entirely new and therefore debatable no doubt. The very novelty is bound to give rise to a hot discussion culminating in a new interest and more research work. The author, however, has never advanced any theories for which he could not put forth the solid evidence of coins, books and inscriptions. Such astounding theory, as that of establishing Ashok and Priyadarshin as different individuals, may not be accepted at once, but the author has not failed to pile evidence upon evidence for proving his theory.

The chronological list of events given at the end of the book is sure to prove very useful. One such list was prepared by Grant Duff; but that was years ago. This is more detailed. The book contains, moreover, a number of pictures, maps and illustrations–an added attraction.

The book makes evident the author's deep study of Jaina literature. At the same time he has not failed to supply evidence from other literatures which he has not studied any less than the former. His style is homely.

Ahmedabad, 28-7-35 **Prajabandhu**

* * *

The very hazard of publishing such a book, deserves encouragement and support from even those, who are not students of history. Interest of the general public in history is yet to be cultivated, and hence the author should be all the more congratulated upon his spirit of enterprise.

The book presents a connected and synthetic view of ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. It is a product of twenty-five years of persevering application to ancient books, coins and materials. How far the author is correct, in the picture he has painted, is a subject for experts, but the book as if challenges them to submit material contained by it to an acid test.

The main aim of the author, is to put before us the fact, that Buddhism and Brahminism have been hitherto given undue importance at the cost of Jainism, the twenty-fourth Tirthankar of which constructed and formulated a new social and political order.

At all places, the author has supplied as many pieces of evidence as he could. Copious footnotes, chronological lists and index have made the book worthy of the attention of scholars, while the homely style of the author has laid the material within the rich of all.

The difficulties and setbacks which the author has experienced in the publication of this book, are enough to make his effort worthy of admiration. His new theories, his challenging attitude and his enthusiasm are really inspiring.

Bombay, 14-8-35 **Janmabhumi**

* * *

Dr. Shah's effort to shed new light in the abysmal darkness of Indian antiquity, deserves full credit and praise. It is an outcome of a constant labour for twenty-five years.

Historians have hitherto said that Indian culture and civilization have their foundation mainly in Buddhism and Brahmanism. Dr. Shah has tried to prove that the major part of the credit goes to Jainism which preceded Buddhism and which is responsible for the formation of social and political order. According to him, Ashok and Priyadarshin were different individuals, and the inscriptions, which are ascribed to Ashok, a Buddhist, were really carved by Priyadarshin a Jaina emperor.

Such theories are debatable no doubt, but they deserve full attention from all concerned.

The book will be enjoyed both by scholars and by general readers. It is written in a homely style. Every page gives vent to author's spirit of self-reliance, patriotism, and deep-seated respect for ancient India.

Bombay, 25-8-1935 **Hindustan Prajamitra**

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Dr. Shah has written this book after a deep and intelligent study of ancient coins, books and inscriptions. He has rendered great service to all students of history, and especially to the Jaina community. Jainism, as he has proved, enjoyed paramount power in India at the time when Buddhism, Islam and Christianity did not even exist.

One praiseworthy feature of the book is the maps of various countries and kingdoms. Another equally praiseworthy feature is the illustrations of ancient coins and other pictures, which are aptly designed to give us a panoramic view of ancient India as it really was. The picture of Saraswati, giving us an idea of the art of painting 2000 years ago, deserves special attention.

We congratulate Dr. Shah for bringing to light things which had hitherto been concealed in the womb of antiquity.

Bhavnagar, 25th, August, 1935. **Jain**

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We welcome Dr. Shah's effort to write the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. Looking to the application and the persevering exertion of the writer, the price fixed for the book is quite adequate, though the public might be inclined to consider it a bit high.

Dr. Shah has tried to present novel facts and theories based on the evidence of ancient coins, books and inscriptions. His theories are apt to strike one as revolutionary, but one's doubts are sure to be silenced by arrays of evidence, piled in the book. The reader is also apt to think that Jainism is unduly highly represented in the book. He has then to remember that this book owes its existence to the material gleaned and systematically arranged from "Encyclopædia Jainica."

The book presents a new angle of vision into the cobwebs of Indian antiquity, and therefore deserves full study by all students of ancient history. Written with a view to incite more research work, the book is invaluable and admirable.

To avoid all misconstruing, the readers may go through the preface first, as the author has clearly stated his viewpoint there.

Baroda, 9-9-1935 **Nav-Gujarat**

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Most of the modern books on Indian history are based on research work and conclusions arrived at, by foreign writers. It is high time that Indians themselves, should plunge themselves heart and soul in this affair, if they want to profit by the rich heritage left to them, by their wise and fore-seeing ancestors. It is more important for Jains to have a detailed knowledge about their ancestors and their customs, manners and civilization than to study minutely histories of countries like England, Ireland and others. Though it is very difficult to give a connected account of ancient India, yet all concerned will be glad to know that Dr. T. L. Shah has spiritedly entered upon the adventure of publishing a 2000 page book on the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.

None should work under the erroneous conception that the author has been partial towards Jainism. He has put forth evidence from all available ancient and modern books, the huge list of which, is given at the beginning of the book. He has begun his account from the time of the twenty-third Jaina Tirthankar, Parshvanath. By piling evidence upon evidence, the author has proved that in ancient India there were only two religions, namely Jainism and Brahminism, of which the former had paramount power. He has given a detailed account of the 16 kingdoms of those times.

He has supplied maps about each, and all minute details connected with them. In fact he has given a panoramic picture of ancient India and his theories and conclusions shed quite a new light on those times. The author has also proved that the Mahavir Era was adopted by most of the dynasties and was much in vogue.

Bombay, 28-9-1935 **Bombay Samachar**

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Scholars have, no doubt, made a deep study of material available in Buddhist and Vedic books and things. But none has, as yet, given Jaina literature its due.--a literature which can be of inestimable value in looking at ancient India with a true perspective.

Dr. Shah is the first in the field to initiate and to make this effort. Readers may feel that the whole book is tinged with Jainism; but none need be unduly uneasy on this account. He has opened a new angle of vision. The veracity of his conclusions may be established later on, but none can discount his originality and boldness on that account.

His theories have given rise to hot discussions, debates and criticisms, and thus he has aroused and activated the interest of all. In order to avoid misunderstanding, the author has written a lucid preface, in which he has explained his view-point.

The book is full of maps, pictures and other illustrations concerning those times. Specially noteworthy are the pictures of Kalpa-druma on the front page, and of Saraswati on the title page. All the pictures and maps have been fully explained in the book. The pictures at the top of every chapter are very suggestive of the contents of that chapter.

We generally believe that Jainism and kingship are things incompatible. Dr. Shah has tried his level best to prove that most of the kings in ancient India were Jains.

He has advanced entirely different theories. In fact he has presented the other side of the shield. How far that side is correct is another question. But we should not forget that he is the first to present it.

The book deserves full encouragement from kings, libraries and from all. It will prove useful to Jains as well as non-Jains.

Bombay, 22nd, Sept. 1935 **"Gujarati".**

The book sheds a new light on the geographical, social, political and economic conditions of those times. His theories and conclusions are entirely different from those of all that have preceded him; but every page bristles with foot-notes in which he has supported them with ship-loads of evidence. His is the method which should be adopted while writing history. Various maps, nearly 400 pictures, and chronological lists of dynasties and events are special features. The reader is not unlikely to feel that the author has a partiality for Jainism; but then, he should remember that the book owes its existence to "Encyclopædia Jainica", gleanings from which form the present book. It is not improbable that a deep study of Jaina literature which has hitherto been generally ignored, may throw new light on the mazes of Indian antiquity. All readers are advised to go through the preface first, in order to understand the view-point of the author.

We congratulate Dr. Shah upon his spirit of enterprise and his unremitting and selfless toil, and hope that they will not go unappreciated by the public.

Baroda **Pustakalay**

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The author has made a deep study of all available material. Naturally he has given preference to Jaina literature which had been practically ignored by his predecessors. He has advanced marvellously novel theories. The whole book sheds a new search light on ancient Indian history. He has not failed to advance solid evidence, wherever he has differred from his predecessors. It deserves deep study by all students of history. Its homely style makes it interestingly readable to the general reader as well. It is full of maps and illustrations which are fully explained.

We offer our congratulations to the author for his deep knowledge of the subject and hope that no library will be without it.

Baroda **Sahityakar**

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The book presents a connected history of ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.; the most noteworthy feature of which is a chronological statement of events, that took place during the

period stated above. It is full of pictures and illustrations of coins and inscriptions and maps. The book is specially important from the viewpoint of research work, and presents good material to all interested in the subject.

Bombay, 1-6-1936 **Jain Prakash**

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This volume consists of the accounts of the first four kings of the Maurya Dynasty, namely Chandragupta, Bindusar, Ashok and Priyadarshin. The author has presented ancient India in a new light. He has proved by advancing solid pieces of evidence that Jainism was the all-pervading and the most powerful religion in ancient India. So different is the outlook of the author, that the readers are likely to be struck much with surprise at it. The information supplied in the book is interesting and though there may be a difference of opinion as to the truth of his theories, yet the utility of the book is beyond question. Full information together with illustrations is given about ancient coins.

Baroda, 30-9-1636 **Nav-Gujarat**

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Looking to the books on the history of ancient India, one cannot help feeling, that Jaina literature has been almost neglected. Even Mr. Wells has not written anything about Mahavir, not to talk of anything else.

All students of history will be glad to know, that one stupendous effort of this kind has been made by Dr. T. L. Shah, a scholar who has devoted twenty-five consecutive years to the study of all available material.

It supplies an exhaustive study of coins and religious signs of those times. It contains very suggestive pictures.

The author has put forth, what one might be constrained to say, rather startling theories. For instance, he has stated that Gautam Buddha was at first a Jain, and hence Buddhism owes its origin to Jainism. He has explained coins and signs upon them in altogether a different light, and has proved that most of them belong to Jainism. Such signs of the Mauryas as horse and the other like Swastika, Dharmachakra, Indradhvaja, Sun and

Moon, Chaitya and others he has ascribed to Jainism. He has very strongly and boldly stated that Ashok and Priyadarshin were different individuals.

But it is no small tribute to him to note that he has piled evidence upon evidence to support his theories. There is no categorical statement in the book which he has not loaded with heaps of evidence based on coins, inscriptions and ancient books.

In fact the book is a great attempt to give a correct picture of India as it was twenty-five hundred years ago. We congratulate Dr. Shah upon his marvellous effort and courage and hope that his services will be appreciated by all.

Bombay, 30th. May, 1936 **Bombay Samachar**

* * *

Prachin Bharatvarsha Part II by Dr. T. L. Shah, Baroda Published by Shashikant & Co. Raopura, Baroda. Pages 412+11 +15+16+8; cloth bound. Price Rs. 7/8 (1936).

The first part of this remarkable work—because of a man of medicine delving deep into the Ancient History of India—has already been noticed. This substantial volume of five hundred pages deals with numismatics-old coins, i. e. coins current in ancient India. In addition, the period covered by the Maurya dynasty and the onslaughts of foreigners-Yavanas-have been handled with the precision of a scientist. The indexes are very useful and furnish a key to the varied contents of the volume.

Modern Review, 9, '36.

* * *

The book is a unique adventure. The scholarship, the information, the material and the zeal of the author are praiseworthy. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his work. He has defended his theories with enthusiasm of a pleader.

The author has tried to prove that, many things that are attributed to Buddhism, really belong to Jainism. Hence he has invited much debate and criticism. For instance, he has tried his utmost to establish that all the Maurya kings except Ashok were Jains; that Sandrekotes is not the Greek name of Chandragupta but of Ashok (Chandashok); that Priyadarshin is altogether a

different individual from Ashok; that the inscriptions ascribed to Ashok really belong to Priyadarshin who was a Jain etc. etc.

Be it as it may, one thing is clear, that things, which are at present, considered to be remains of Buddhism purely, may really be a heterogenous mixture of Buddhist and Jaina remains, and that the things ascribed to Jainism, at presents, form only a part of what originally belonged to it. Jainism must also have had its period of boom, like Buddhism and Brahminism. We hope that the aspirations of Dr. Shah may be fulfilled. If scholars begin to reinvestigate all the available material in the light of this book, another link in the broken chain of ancient history is sure to be supplied.

Karachi, March, 1937 "Urmi"

* * *

"Prachin Bharatvarsha"—Part I, by Dr. T. L. Shah, L. M. & S., Baroda. :—Years ago, public attention was attracted by Dr. Shah, who undertook to compile "Encyclopædia Jainica" on a gigantic scale. The plan had to be postponed on account of want of proper encouragement and help. This, however, could not prevent him from continuing his application to ancient books and other materials, as a result of which we have this volume. The present book will convince the reader that Dr. Shah, though a doctor by degree, is a painstaking student of ancient Indian History and culture, and that he has dived deep into that ocean. He has made a formidable attempt in this book to prove, that many theories hitherto universally accepted by all historians, are entirely wrong.

Little definite is known about Chandragupta, and whatever little information we have, is based on Greek history. Dr. Shah has put forth the theory, that Chandragupta and Sandrekotes are different individuals, and this theory deserves full consideration from experts.

There was a time, when we hesitated to stretch our ancient history to a period, much more older than the time, of the invasion of Alexander the Great over India. The Mohan-ja-dero excavations, however, have widened our outlook and put before us long vistas of antiquity, the end of which we fix up, with the time of

the Vedas. If Dr. Shah's conclusions and theories prove correct, the major part of our ancient history shall have to be re-written. This is the reason why we appeal to all interested in ancient history to submit his conclusions and theories to a searching analysis with the object of gleaning out truth from them. Let us hope that the second volume of this highly praiseworthy effort may see the light of the day as soon as possible.

Ahmedabad

(Sd.) **Hiralal T. Parikh B. A.**
(Buddhiprakash, Jan.-March, 1937)

* * *

This is the third volume of "Prachin Bharatvarsh" by Dr. T. L. Shah.

Though a medical man by profession, Dr. Shah is a deep and persevering student of ancient Indian history. These volumes which deal with ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. are the ripe and rich fruits of his constant application for last twenty five years.

Rare as such efforts are in our country, where the writers get little support and encouragement from the public and from various institutions as they do in the west, Dr. Shah's achievement deserves full credit and support from all interested in the glory of ancient India, which is revealed in its true form, by the Doctor.

The book is full of theories and conclusions which will shock and disillusion even experts on many a point of antique interest. The author, however, has put forth all available evidence, based on such reliable sources like ancient manuscripts, coins and inscriptions.

Bombay, 10-7-37

Jay-bharat

* * *

Dr. T. L. Shah has rendered signal service to Mother India by writing "Prachin Bharatvarsha." His treatment of the material is entirely novel, and he has not spared himself in the pursuit of his studies. It deserves due encouragement from all quarters.

Ahmedabad
30-8-37

(Sd.) **Bhogilal Chhotalal Sutaria**
President, Maskati Cloth Market

Dr. T. L. Shah read out to me a few chapters of his Ancient Indian History. The great merit of the book seems to me to consist in his careful handling of meterials coming from authoritative Jaina sources. He has laboured much in elucidating our past history and his conclusions mostly run counter to the accepted theories. Nevertheless, his new theories will stimulate further discussions and reserch, from which we may gain much good.

Orientel Institute,
Baroda

(Sd.) **B. Bhattacharya** Ph. D.
Director

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I read with interest the synopsis prepared by Dr. Shah of his gigantic work on Ancient Indian History. From this, I believe that his work will prove very useful and interesting. Many new points are introduced by him and though agreement on these is not always possible, yet they show the great energy and vast reading of the author. I am sure, it will be most welcome to all indologist.

Wilson College, Bombay

(Sd.) **Prof. H. D. Velankar** M. A.